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ART. I.—THE INDIAN BAYARD.

THE chivalrous favourite of three French kings would be the first to recognise the high estimation in which posterity holds his memory as shown by connecting his name as a title-of-honor with that of the hero whose biography lies before us. That Outram was, "without fear and without reproach," like his spotless prototype, is however, after all, only negative praise, and conveys but an imperfect idea of the man who played so great a part in Indian History, and who has already taken his place in the foremost rank of statesmen and administrators. The inspiring task of writing the life of this great Anglo-Indian worthy had been originally allotted to Sir John Kaye, but, owing to the death of that distinguished writer, it devolved upon Sir Frederick Goldsmid, who has performed his work with an impartiality, diligence, and ability, that the elder writer could not have surpassed. Sir Frederick has had to deal with a great subject, and there can be no doubt that he has succeeded in giving us a vivid and life-like picture of the English official who best succeeded in winning the natives' hearts. The sketch which we propose giving of Outram's career will, we trust, be the best testimonial to this valuable and interesting biography, which no one who cares to hear the recital of noble deeds, and to learn how British rule was consolidated in Hindostan, should fail to read.

James Outram was born January 29, 1803, at Butterley Hall, Derbyshire, a mining property which had been recently purchased

James Outram: A biography by Major-General Sir F. J. Goldsmid, C.B., K.C.S.I., 2 vols.: London, 1880.

by his father, a prosperous, and perhaps too enterprising engineer whose early death in 1805, left his widow and five children to face the world in embarrassed, or at least much reduced circumstances. Fortunately Mrs. Outram possessed talents and fortitude of the highest order, which enabled her to meet, and finally overcome the trials of her anxious position. Compelled to accept £200 a year from relatives, she determined to make that allowance, combined with the little she could realise from the wreck of her husband's personal property, suffice for her wants. Evidence of her courage and determination to economise to the utmost is shown by her occupying, during few years, a house which, on account of its lonely situation and reputation for being haunted, she was able to obtain at a low rent. In 1810, she quitted the neighbourhood of her former home, and chose Aberdeen as her future residence on account of the advantages it afforded in the way of good and cheap education. At first she settled down in a little cottage outside Aberdeen called Berryden, but when her children became of an age to require superior tuition, she removed into the town itself. The shortcomings in her own training made her anxious to complete, as far as her limited means permitted, the education of those for whom she was responsible. Mrs. Outram showed herself a conscientious, intelligent and self-sacrificing mother, though we are told, as the reverse of the medal, that she "possessed a hasty and somewhat imperious temper, like that of her husband, impatient of misapprehension as of opposition," and that sometimes her inborn wit and vivacity led her to say things it had been better to have left unsaid.

Her influence, both by example and training, was very marked in forming the character of her second son, the subject of this sketch who inherited many of the maternal qualities. His first school seems to have been that of Udney, kept by Dr. Bisset, near Aberdeen. He was then 11 years of age, and is described as rather pale, but healthy, and of prepossessing countenance. He had his mother's black, glossy hair; his dark hazel eye kept time as it were, with whatever was going on, and marked his quick apprehension of, and sympathy with, every scintillation of wit, drollery, or humour, yet his usual manner was quiet and sedate." His progress in classics, his teacher reported, was creditable, but he showed a more pronounced taste for mathematics. It was, however, in out-door pursuits that he gave unmistakeable evidence of exceptional mettle; here he was *in limine* the hardy soldier, the untiring traveller, and the bold sportsman; and before he was fourteen, he had become the recognised leader of the school in all athletic games. As would be expected, his generosity

was on a par with his prowess ; and on one occasion it is recorded by his biographer that, having suffered some facial disfigurement in a wrestling bout with a school-fellow, he hastened to exonerate the latter from all blame by attributing his bruises to an accident. In swimming and climbing his skill and daring were alike conspicuous. The testimony of a younger school-fellow at Udney further confirms the old adage that the boy is father to the man :—" He was always kind to me, protecting me from the bullying of the elder boys.....He drilled us regularly.....In winter he had forts of snow built." The reader will remember that this was also a favourite amusement of Napoleon's boyhood, "in the attack and defence of which there was many a severe contest. In every adventure of daring he was the leader, and frequently he exposed himself to great danger. There was a tradition in the school that he let himself down from the top of Udney Castle by using an umbrella for a parachute." One of his sisters alludes to him in those days as "The reverse of studious, but equally the reverse of indolent. His playtime was spent in active exercise, gardening, mechanics, and every athletic sport. His great enjoyment was to associate with the soldiers at the barracks, or the sailors at the docks—we in the meantime never knowing where our missing brother had gone. I recollect our surprise one evening during our walk, when on glancing at the soldiers going through their exercises, we saw our own little Jemmy at their head, as perfect in all the manœuvres as any among them. He was the delight of the regiment ; but even still more, if possible, the sailors' pet."

His insensibility to, or rather perhaps his fortitude in suppressing any outward manifestation of bodily pain was certainly remarkable. In one of their rambles upon the sea shore, the children had come upon some large crabs lying upon their backs which they supposed to be dead ; little Jemmy soon learnt to his cost that one of them, at least, was very much alive, for it seized his forefinger as in a vice. Instead of cries and gesticulations under the infliction, he quietly held the creature at arm's length while the blood was trickling to the ground, until of its own accord it relaxed its grip, his only remark being "I thought he'd get tired at last," as he bound up the wound in his handkerchief. We are induced by the strong family likeness between them, to bracket this anecdote of his childhood with two others, one of his early manhood in Kandesh, and the other of the time when he was in command of the expedition to Persia in 1857. In April or May 1825, news having been brought in by his *shikari*, Chima, that a tiger had been seen on the side of the hill under the Mussulman temple, among some prickly-pear shrubs, Lieutenant Outram

and another sportsman proceeded to the spot. Outram went on foot, and his companion on horseback. Searching through the bushes, they soon discovered the animal, when Outram's friend fired and missed. The tiger then sprang forward, roaring, and seized Outram, rolling down the hill with him, now the man and now the animal uppermost. Being released from the claws of the ferocious beast for a moment, Outram, with great presence of mind, drew out his pistol and shot the tiger dead. The Bhils on seeing that he had been injured, were one and all loud in their grief and expressions of regret ; but Outram quieted them with the remark :—" What do I care for the clawing of a cat !" The second incident was the following : during the bombardment in 1857 of Mohammerah at the mouth of the Karin, Outram had taken his post on board the *Scindian* which, as it moved up the river, was exposed to a smart fire from the Persian field pieces and musketry lining the shore. A round shot struck down Havelock's servant and killed him on the spot, and a musket ball was only prevented from wounding Outram's foot by a lucky *hookah* which was standing before him. Outram at the time was calmly surveying the movements of the enemy on shore, lowering his glass every now and then to order the men of the 64th, who would keep peering above the bulworks, not to expose themselves. He had hardly uttered the words :—" Down men of the 64th," when a shower of balls from the shore rattled over the deck, happily missing the General whose whole person was exposed to the assailants. " They have put your pipe out," was his only remark quite unconscious of the danger which he had escaped, " addressing his friend who had been smoking the *hookah*."

After passing about four years at Udney, he was transferred to what was considered a superior school kept by a clergyman named Esson. Here he distinguished himself rather by the exuberance of his boyish spirits and the stoicism with which he bore the castigations some of his pranks entailed, than by close application to study. He afterwards attended the second mathematical class at Mareschal College, and the reports sent home represent him as well-behaved and making fair progress. This was in the Session of 1818-19, and his school days terminated shortly afterwards, as he obtained in 1819 a direct Indian cadetship through the influence of Captain Gordon, the Member for Aberdeenshire, an appointment which he chose in preference to the alternative of a nomination to Addiscombe offered him by the Duke of Gordon.

There had been some idea of his entering the Church, but his repugnance to such a career was thus expressed to one of his sisters :—" They mean to make me a parson ; well, you see that

window ; rather than be a parson, I'm out of it ; and I'll list for a common soldier." The bent of his mind was indeed not at all in the direction of a sedentary life in either Scotch manse or English parsonage, and his natural yearnings had invariably been towards the pomp and circumstance of war. He sailed from England early in May 1819, being, as he describes himself, at the time, a puny lad of only five feet one inch in height. Four years later, when in his twentieth year, his brother Francis still speaks of him as the smallest staff-officer in the army, and his subsequent growth to a height of five feet eight inches is a feat of very unusual occurrence, attributed by himself to fever and sickness generally of which he had more than a due share during the first year of his residence in India.

The period of his landing at Bombay, when he was immediately gazetted to a lieutenancy in the 1st Grenadier Native Infantry, was an eventful one. The deposed Peshwa had just reached his appointed residence at Bithur ; the reformed Pindaris had been disposed of in two peaceable colonies : Asirgarh and Bhuj had surrendered to our arms ; and quiet had been restored to Sawant Wari and Berár. Little need be said of the first twelve months of his apprenticeship in military duties, but that he had progressed rapidly in them is proved by his appointment as Acting Adjutant of the 1st Battalion of the 12th Regiment in July 1820, a post which he held until May 1821. In April 1822, we find him full Adjutant at Ahmadabad, and we learn that travelling to this place from Bombay, a distance now traversed in a couple of hours, had occupied six weeks, and a little earlier than this date, he had a narrow escape from an explosion of fireworks incautiously stored among his baggage ; the boat in which he was travelling was blown up, and he himself was picked up floating, a hardly animate mass of blackened humanity. To the shock and the severe scorching he received, is attributed the complete cure of a jungle fever from which he was suffering at the time of the accident. We hardly fancy that the success of the remedy on this occasion will be accepted as sufficient recommendation for its general adoption. His home letters at this period, and indeed for the first few years of his Indian career, are chiefly occupied with matters of domestic interest. Their love is that of genuine and honest affection, and they are wonderfully well-expressed considering that before his departure from England he had had no experience in the art of letter-writing. The following incident shows that his skill in this respect was not discovered until a late period in his life. During one of his holidays, a school-fellow named Gorden sent him a letter by a servant. His mother said he must in civility answer it, so he

retired to do so. After a while he came back, saying "How am I to begin?" "Why, 'My dear Gordon,' of course." Thus prompted, he again disappeared for a considerable time. He then came and asked how he was to end, and being told, "Yours sincerely, James Outram," soon brought back his letter. His mother had the curiosity to look at what he had written. The contents were simply "My dear Gordon—Yours sincerely, James Outram."

His thoughtful affection for his mother is exhibited in a letter to her, written November 1822 :—"You used to say you were badly off, but as I had been used to poor Udney, I thought we were very comfortable in our humble home. Now when I see how many privations you had to put up with, I think you made wonderful sacrifices for your children, whose duty it is to make you as comfortable as they possibly can. I, for one, am certainly sorry that I have not been more prudent, for I certainly ought by this time to have been able to send you, at least, something."

However, "when I reform my corps, I shall be in receipt of Rs. 600 a month, as the corps is at present in the field ; out of which I shall be able at least to save Rs. 300 a month, which is about £350 a year. In garrison I shall be able to save about £180 a year. All of this is, of course, dedicated to you ; and much greater pleasure will spending it in this manner afford me, than if I were amassing riches upon riches on my own account." Francis Outram, then a Lieutenant in the Engineers, shared the same filial sentiments and could equally appreciate the inestimable value of a mother's attachment. A few short years after the date we have arrived at, the melancholy termination of the career of her eldest son, a most promising officer, who committed suicide at the age of 29, must have been a severe blow to this devoted mother.

During the years 1823 and 1824, we find James Outram settled in a house at Rajkoot, together with Lieutenant Ord, whose spirited reminiscences of their hog-hunting are embodied in the biography, and convey a very graphic picture of what a keen and successful spearman his companion ever proved himself to be. That he did not in the meanwhile neglect his regimental duties, is shown by the circumstance that, in addition to the adjutancy of his own corps, he had already been appointed adjutant of a detachment on service in Kathiawar, and that in January 1823 he commanded the 1st battalion of the 12th Native Infantry on its annual review ; while in March 1824 he commanded a wing of his corps on the occasion of its review at Junagarh. He had only then entered on his two and twentieth year, but even at this early period he showed that wonderful gift of commanding

which few have possessed in such a high degree. While insisting upon the strictest discipline during a march, he was always ready to join those under his command in the field sports, of which, indeed, he was the great promoter and in which he took more first spears than any other man. Duty was always a labour of love with his soldiers, for he inspired all who were capable of any elevation of feeling with some portion of his own ardour, and made them willing assistants rather than mere perfunctory subordinates. The first experience Outram had of actual war was at the siege of Kittur where he served as a volunteer and offered his services to lead a contemplated storming party—which the submission of the insurgents, however, rendered unnecessary. His brother Francis was also present in the course of duty at the taking of Kittur, and the brothers returned together to Bombay in January 1825, whence the younger proceeded to join his regiment at Malegaon.

In the following March he was ordered to hasten at the head of a detachment of 200 men to Zai Kaira, the chief town of the Malair district, and 12 miles from the hill fort of Malair, between Surat and Malegaon, where a Mahratta rebel had established his head-quarters, and again raised the banner of the recently conquered Peshwa, after having plundered Autapur. Outram was accompanied on this expedition by his friend Mr. Graham, the assistant collector. On reaching the vicinity of the fort, from information he received, Outram was led to believe that, despite of numbers, the place might be successfully escalated on the further side. He therefore proposed to carry it by a *coup de main*, to rout the insurgents under the panic of a sudden surprise, and, by thus destroying the prestige they had already acquired, to dishearten the allies that were flocking to their standard. This proposition was joyfully welcomed by his companions, but it so far exceeded the discretionary powers vested in either Outram or Graham by their written instructions, that the latter hesitated to give his consent. The results, however, of inquiries satisfied him, that a rapid and alarming extension of the insurrection could be prevented only by promptly inflicting a check upon the rebels. He accordingly sanctioned the proposed measures; and soon after nightfall Outram marched forth to carry them into execution. As he approached the hill on which the fortress was situated, he sent Ensigns Whitmore and Paul, with 150 men, to make a false attack in front, while he himself with the remaining 50 sepoys of his detachment, turning off to the left, proceeded to assail the rear. The operation was completely successful. Both parties effected the ascent before daybreak, and while the rebels had their attention drawn to the front by

the assault of an enemy whose strength it was impossible to ascertain in the dark, Outram dashed in upon them from behind. The panic-stricken garrison fled with scarcely an attempt at resistance, and at the head of his reunited detachment, and some horsemen whom Mr. Graham had in the meantime collected, Outram followed them up so closely, that they had no opportunity of rallying, and then discovering the weakness of their assailants. Their leader was cut down; many of his adherents shared his fate, and the rest made for the neighbouring hills in a state of complete disorganisation. As the infantry had now marched upwards of fifty miles in little more than thirty-six hours, Outram found it necessary to halt them soon after dawn. But scouts were despatched to ascertain the point of rendezvous selected by the scattered foe, and at night the chase was resumed. The insurgents were a second time surprised; many were slain, numbers were taken prisoners, and the rest, throwing down their arms, fled to their villages. A rebellion which had caused much anxiety to the authorities was thus crushed ere the troops intended for its suppression had been put in motion, and the plunder of Autapur was restored to its lawful owners. This dashing and completely successful achievement, accomplished at the age of twenty-two, in the teeth of his instructions, was the last rendered by him in his capacity of regimental officer. The authorities had marked him for employment where his energy and abilities would find fuller scope and a higher sphere.

By Bombay General Orders of April 22nd, he was placed at the disposal of the Political Agent in Kandesh for the purpose of commanding a Bhil corps to be raised in that province for police duties. Kandesh was incorporated in 1818, and what with bad roads, sparse hamlets, rugged, impracticable mountain passes, and the spread of jungle over the cultivable tracts, the aspect of the province was far from inviting. Its decline is dated from a period within the present century, from a time when the ravages of Holkar's horsemen were followed by famine, misgovernment and official plunder. In addition to these visitations marauding tribes, especially the Bhils, and savage beasts, prowled over the face of the land in quest of mischief. The wild mountain Caterans whom Outram was sent to subdue, and, if possible, to reclaim, are described as "small in stature, lean and wiry, capable of great endurance, and from constant exercise their senses of sight and hearing are wonderfully acute. They seem in their natural state, like the bushmen of Africa, scarcely men, but rather a link between the human species and the wild creatures among whom they live. Hunting, varied by plundering

and cattle-lifting, was their normal trade. Proscribed by Government and hunted down, they were killed by hundreds, but never subdued." Prior to the establishment of a British collectorate in their midst, no coercion or persuasion had, from time immemorial, succeeded in withdrawing those who dwell in the hills from their fastnesses. Murder and rapine stalked openly and unrestrainedly in their midst. Fifty notorious leaders infested the land, and their commands were implicitly obeyed by upwards of five thousand ruthless followers, whose sole occupation was pillage and robbery, whose delight consisted in the murderous foray, and whose subsistence depended entirely on the fruits of their unlawful spoil. Smarting also under the repeatedly broken pledges of the former native Government, and rendered savage by the wholesale slaughter of their families and relations, they were more than usually suspicious of a new government of foreigners, and less than ever inclined to submit to the bonds of order and restraint when Outram came into contact with them.

Conciliatory, as well as repressive, measures had been tried for seven years with but little success. But a marked change began to ensue under the influence of Ovens and Outram, whom Mountstuart Elphinstone denominated respectively his 'plough' and 'sword' for the settlement of these unruly tribes. They had to combine administrative with executive functions; to be magistrates, judges, arbitrators, advisers, police superintendents and military commanders: to conciliate as well as to repress, to attract as well as to awe, and to inculcate honesty and fair dealing by example as well as by precept. Outram had, in addition, to organise a Bhil Light Infantry Corps, and to instil habits of obedience and discipline into the minds of his half-savage and unwilling recruits. His efforts were eventually crowned with extraordinary success, owing mainly to the moral ascendancy he acquired over the people, not so much by a display of those qualities of intrepidity and daring which they most highly valued among themselves, as by the practice of rigid justice tempered by a sympathy and kindness to which they had been altogether, and at all times, unaccustomed. Though the humane and enlightened policy of Elphinstone aimed at reclaiming rather than exterminating, it was not possible to put a stop at once to military operations, and Outram inaugurated his entrance on his duties by a night march at the head of thirty sepoys to the attack of a strong position in the hills held by a chief named Pandee. At daybreak he surprised the enemy who fled before his small party, and a confederation which with time might have become formidable, was broken up.

He then commenced his work of organising a corps, and, as he

himself expresses it, laid its foundation through the medium of his captives, 'some of whom were released to bring in the relatives of the rest, on the pledge that they should be all set at liberty.' 'I thus effected an intercourse with some of the leading naicks, went alone with them into their jungles, gained their hearts by copious libations of brandy, and their confidence by living unguarded among them, until at last I persuaded five of the most adventurous to risk their fortunes with me, which small beginning I considered ensured ultimate success.' He had yet, however, to experience much difficulty in overcoming the fears and prejudices of the Bhils, and it is not hard to understand their shyness to enter upon a new life on the representations of comparative strangers. The apprehension of some lurking mischief was among the main obstacles to enlistment; and three or four of the first comers were frightened away by a report that they had been enticed with a view to eventual transportation beyond the seas. He spared no endeavour to remove their distrust by constant intercourse with them, and by expressing with marks of disgust, his abhorrence of the treachery and cruelty with which they had been treated by the Peshwa's government. He explained the advantages to us expected from their services, the only motive they could comprehend for our liberality. He listened to their complaints, enquired into, and obtained redress for many acts of oppression, and by interceding for those who, though proscribed, sought this mediation, and by taking every opportunity of displaying implied confidence in their good faith and by exacting little services from them, he gradually found a way to their hearts without forfeiting their respect or soldierly obedience. In a very short time he so far succeeded in overcoming their natural indolence and distaste for discipline and in inspiring them with a spirit of emulation that they entreated him to allow them no rest from drill until they were as efficient as the sepoy of the regular army.

At the end of a year's recruiting he was able to report that 308 Bhils had joined his corps, and that so great an improvement had taken place in their behaviour that they were competent to take part in the charge and escort of treasure; to keep the peace in case of plundering or disturbance; to act in a body, or in detachments against rebels of their own race; and even to be available for serious operations in the field. In short, these wild marauders had been transmuted by the hand of a military genius into excellent soldiers. Another twelve months saw their numbers augmented to 600, and in 1828 so good a use had been made of their services, that the country was declared, for the first time for twenty years, to have enjoyed six months

of uninterrupted repose. We must refer the reader to Sir Frederick Goldsmid's pages for a detailed account of the measures adopted and the expeditions undertaken by Outram during the following six or seven years, by means of which the spirit of insubordination was finally quelled, and an unprecedented condition of tranquillity and prosperity introduced into a land hitherto familiar only with rapine and civil war. But as his biographer justly says, it was not merely by his official dealings with the Bhils that Outram succeeded in raising a corps among them and becoming a power for good wherever he went. His success is to be attributed to the unwearied pains he took to establish the power which springs from tested sympathy—not that inspired by awe alone. They found that, while surpassing them in all that they most admired, *viz.*, in the qualities of the warrior and sportsman, he also understood them and their ways; that he loved them, and could and did take an interest in all their fears and difficulties, their joys and sorrows. Few instances are on record of such warm attachment arising between a subject tribe and an alien chief, and we are not surprised to learn that his memory still lingers in Kandeish, surrounded by a semi-divine halo.

Before quitting the scene of his ten years' labours in the cause of humanity and civilisation, we shall here narrate one of the exploits in which he distinguished himself as the most intrepid tiger-slayer of his day. Khundoo, the naick or commander of his band of trackers, was the very *beau ideal* of a Bhil. Though a little fellow, he was a great man with his master, and it was one of the saddest days in Outram's chequered life, when this faithful follower met his death in the following manner:—A man-eating tiger had killed a native, and Khundoo, with a few companions, was hard upon his track. Just previous to this it should be mentioned Khundoo had disappointed his master of a tiger, and he was so put out by his failure, that he resolved to say nothing to Outram until he had ascertained the whereabouts of the beast beyond the shadow of a doubt. With this intention he approached the bushes where he believed the tiger lay concealed, when, while he was probing the cover with a light spear, outsprang the brute, and in the next instant had fixed its fangs in the chest of the devoted little hunter. The tiger slunk back to cover, where he was surrounded by a portion of the Bhils: the others took up their dying chief, carried him to Outram's tent, and laid him at his master's feet. Now it is firmly believed by the Bhils that a man killed by a tiger becomes subject to the beast in the next world, unless instantly avenged. Aware of this superstition Outram's first impulse was to destroy the tiger, and, vowing he would neither eat nor drink until he had accomplished his purpose, he seized his rifle and

proceeded to the jungle, where he found the man-eater, and speedily avenged his faithful shikari. On his return Khundoo's life had not yet ebbed away, and it was a touching sight to witness the brave Outram bending over the dying chief to catch his last farewell. Khundoo took the hand of his little son, and placing it in Outram's, begged him to supply his place, a trust which we may be certain was as faithfully fulfilled as many years afterwards was a similar, but much more onerous request of the aged Amir of Sindh.

In 1835, Outram was transferred from Kandeish to the district of Mahi Kanta in the territories of the Gaikawar. Mahi Kanta is, for the greater part, a fertile and well-wooded country, with an estimated area of 3,400 square miles, the most numerous tribe among its inhabitants being the turbulent Kulis, who had many points of resemblance with the Bhils. They were swift in the chase, active and hardy in attack, patient of hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and well-skilled in the delivery of night surprises, but their diminutive forms and inferior weapons disqualified them for stand-up fighting in the field. They delighted in plunder, intoxication, and quarrelling, although from a feeling of mutual respect, the feuds perpetually breaking out in their midst were not of a very sanguine character, and, when trusted, they were said to be faithful to their engagements. To conciliate and reclaim these primitive people, Sir Robert Grant, the Governor of Bombay, wisely decided that Outram, whose marvellous success with the Bhils had received official recognition, was the fitting man. A much wider responsibility, however, than the drill and discipline of the Kulis was to be thrown upon his shoulders. One of the many instances of the generous unselfishness which was the mainspring of his conduct at all periods of his career occurred at this time. Sir John Keane had offered him the command of the troops in the Mahi Kanta, but he declined the honour in favour of a friend who was very much his senior; stating that the appointment of so junior an officer as himself would give umbrage where unanimity was necessary. "The qualifications," he wrote, "of the officer now commanding the detachment in the disturbed districts are far superior to mine. I willingly stake my reputation on his conduct. Associated with him, as I assume I shall be, in the duty, while his will be the honour of success, mine shall be the blame of defeat, in measures of which I am the proposer." The reply of the Commander-in-Chief was to reject this unusual proposal, and to insist upon his accepting the consequences of the full civil and political powers with which the Government had invested him, and, by virtue of which, he would be rendered not only independent of the authority of his senior officers, but the military of

whatever rank would be obliged to take their instructions from him. The letter conveying this decision was more complimentary in its terms than might be expected by a junior captain who had ventured to suggest a change of arrangements to so great a man as the Commander-in-Chief.

Shortly after his appointment to the command in Mahi Kanta, he repaired to Bombay for the purpose of marrying his cousin, Miss Margaret Anderson, to whom he had been some time engaged. His honeymoon was brief, for a fortnight after his marriage he was obliged to hurry off to his rough work in Guzerat, trammelled, by instructions from the philanthropic Governor of Bombay, who did not quite approve of the extensive military plans Outram considered necessary for suppressing the insurrection in the province. The difference between them consisted in this that Sir R. Grant thought conciliatory measures should be tried to the utmost before having recourse to force, while Outram looked upon the transgressions of the chiefs as so outrageous as to deserve punishment before any hope of indulgence should be held out to them. Notwithstanding, this dissidence of opinion he faithfully carried out as far as possible the mild policy recommended by his superiors, although from time to time he gave the latter a bit of his mind in rather unofficial language. In fact, if Outram had a blemish at all as a Government servant, it was that of being just a trifle of a *frondeur*. He justified the phrase 'honest to a fault' in his dealings with all men, and to it, as a main cause, must be attributed the clouds which enveloped his career for several years. His personal difficulties were still in the future, for it must be confessed that he had no reason whatever to complain of any lack of confidence or courtesy on the part of the authorities during his administration of affairs in the Mahi Kanta, though he left them in no doubt that he entertained opposite views on many points to those held by them—in some instances even they modified their policy in deference to his representations.

On one occasion when he had acted with more energy and sternness than was consistent with the tenor of his instructions, he was called upon to "explain his proceedings without a moment's delay," but when intelligence reached head-quarters that his measures had been attended with complete success, he was congratulated 'on so fortunate a result of his spirited, though in their opinion, somewhat rash, proceedings.' In another letter, ostensibly of censure for having assisted the Gaikawar in an attack on Ransipur, it is said that any expressions implying blame of his conduct were given with 'indescribable pain,' because he was regarded by Government as one of the finest military officers in the Presidency, full of courage, resource, activity and intelligence,

his only fault being that, though perfectly fitted for political duties, he was too warlike in his mode of executing a plan. After all, however, the military operations undertaken by Outram in Mahi Kanta, were neither on an extensive scale nor did they prove protracted—an exhibition of force was in most cases sufficient to obtain his object, *viz.* the reducing of insurgent Thakurs to obedience. He occupied the post for nearly three years, and it was universally acknowledged upon his withdrawal that he had very materially added to the brilliant reputation, both as a soldier and an organiser of wild tribes, which he had gained in Kandeish.

During this period his habits of life underwent a change. The scarcity of big game—he never cared for any other—deprived him of that favourite incentive to take active exercise, while his official duties demanded more desk work than he had hitherto been accustomed to perform. For him the days of a hundred mad pranks in the hunting field, and of adventures well-spiced with danger, were done for ever. The intrepid *shikari* gradually became an indefatigable compiler of reports, whose fluency and pungency often proved embarrassing to the knights of red tape; if at the same time they imperilled his own prospects.

When the manifesto of October 1st, 1839, was issued, directing the assembly of a British force for service across the Indus, and a rumour went abroad that an occupation of Kandahar was intended, Outram at once volunteered to join his regiment which was to form part of the expeditionary force. Eventually, Sir John Keane appointed him an extra aide-de-camp on his Staff. He showed the keenest interest in the approaching campaign, and made several suggestions as to the steps he thought necessary for conducting it to a successful issue. Among other things he advised increasing the number of cavalry, and the result proved how just had been his forecast of the inadequate proportion of that arm sent into Afghanistan. Outram left Bombay, 21st November 1838, in the suite of Sir John Keane, but, on arriving at the mouth of Indus a want of camels and boats stopped further progress until the energetic aide-de-camp had supplied the deficiency by arrangements he was able to complete in a rapid excursion to Kurrachee, then an obscure fishing village, but luckily possessing one or two wealthy native merchants with whom he made the necessary contracts. From thence he proceeded overland for about 100 miles, wholly unattended, through an unknown and hostile country, to rejoin the camp. The next duty upon which he was employed was to aid in negotiating a treaty with the court of Hyderabad then divided between the pretensions of four rulers. Although the first interview with the Ameers was friendly, the temper of the people and the Beluch soldiery seemed so menacing that reinforce-

ments had to be summoned in all haste. Before their arrival, however, the Ameers yielded and signed the treaty which Outram had been ordered to lay before them. Before reaching Shikarpur the Commander-in-Chief became alarmed by the mortality among his camels, and Outram was despatched to that town to concert with McNaghten means for supplying a reinforcement of baggage animals. He is said to have shown much diplomatic adroitness in bringing the plenipotentiary in attendance on Shah Sujah over to his views. At any rate he succeeded far beyond the anticipations of his chief. Shortly after this a serious fall from his horse compelled him to accompany the advance to Kandahar in a palanquin, a passive, but not the less a vigilant, observer of the features of the now-of-ten-traversed route.

Outram's views of the Afghan war were not in consonance with those of Lord Auckland and Mr. McNaghten. He thought it a waste both of men and of treasure to advance beyond the Indus to support a prince who was neither popular nor trustworthy, but, "having now stretched out our hands too far to pull them back, we must carry our objects for the present triumphantly:" he always admitted that to prevent a European enemy taking root in Afghanistan, an occupation of strategical points in that country might be necessary.

He distinguished himself on the eve of the capture of Ghazni by attacking a large body of Ghazis who had taken up a strong position in the mountains, driving them from peak to peak, supported as he was by only a small detachment of 150 matchlock men and one European officer, slaying their leader, a fanatical Mollah, and capturing a sacred banner with which these fanatics had been incited to resist the Feringhees. Notwithstanding this and other actions of merit in his capacity of aide-de-camp during the hottest part of the assault, his name did not appear in the despatches reporting the fall of Ghazni! The cause of this omission, which deprived him of well-earned honours and promotion, has never been explained.

When Dost Mahomed, dismayed at the loss of his strongest fortress, and unwilling to risk a general engagement, fled towards Turkistan, a body of two thousand Afghans, together with 100 of our own cavalry, was sent in pursuit, the command being given to Outram. That the fugitive prince would have been overtaken and captured, there can be little doubt, but for the machinations of a double-dyed traitor, named Hajji Khan, Kakar, to whom was confided the piloting of the expedition. The wonder, and the pity of it, is that Outram did not pistol the scoundrel. The return ride from Bamian to Kabul was made with feelings of bitter disappointment, but it had been found utterly impossible to continue the chase beyond the crests of the Hindoo Koosh, which

the Dost had reached and crossed only a few hours before the small band of English horsemen.

Four days after his return Outram was deputed by McNaghten to tranquillize the disaffected Ghilzai tribes dwelling between Kabul and Kandahar, that is, he was to arrest four of the most refractory chiefs and replace them by partisans of Shah Sujah. The most pleasant part of his commission was certainly that in which he was charged to reduce the forts of his late guide, Hajji Khan, whose treason had been clearly proved. The line of Outram's march, with his small force of Goorkhas, Afghans and a few horse artillery, lay considerably to the east of Ghazni, Knelat-i-Ghilzai and Kandahar, and comprised some of the most difficult and least known parts of Afghanistan. After surmounting the Kharwar Pass, and scouring the Zurmat Valley, a region so turbulent, that no Afghan monarch had ever entered it without an army at his back, he attacked the Kanjak banditti in their haunts among the Indian mountains. "Arrived as the day broke at a deep dell, occupied by the gang, and while the infantry advanced from the front, I despatched the horse in two bodies to cut off retreat from flanks and rear. The ground being very broken and difficult, however, the enemy found time to ascend a precipitous hill, along the ridge of which they must have escaped, had I not fortunately been mounted on an exceedingly active horse, and thus enabled to gallop ahead and check their advance until the cavalry came up. Finding themselves completely surrounded, they defended themselves most stoutly, and maintained their position until their ammunition was nearly all expended, when, on a general rush being made from every quarter at once, they were induced to throw down their arms, after sixteen of the most desperate among them had been killed. Even the women assisted in the fray, by handing ammunition to their husbands, and throwing stones at our troops. We took 112 prisoners and 112 camels, nearly all the latter bearing the Company's mark, showing that they had been stolen from our army during its advance." The strongest place he encountered between Kabul and Quetta was the fort of Maruf, consisting of double gates, a ditch, fausse braye, and towers of solid masonry. Luckily, it was evacuated before his arrival; otherwise it might have defied all his efforts. It lies on the western edge of the Utak Ghilzai country, and some distance to the eastward of the route lately followed by Generals Stewart and Roberts. At Quetta the politico-military duties imposed upon him by McNaghten came to an end. He had succeeded in establishing the Shah's authority in the five Ghilzai districts of Loghar, Kurwar, Gurdaez, Zurmat and Kuttywass, but he doubted

very much whether any benefit would accrue to the people from the change of masters. He did not long remain inactive at Quetta. Mehrab Khan of Kelat was to be called to account for the attitude of obstructiveness, if not absolute hostility he had lately assumed, and General Willshire received orders to look him up in his head-quarters. Outram joined the expedition at first as a volunteer, but on approaching the capital of Beluchistan he was nominated aide-de-camp during the action that then seemed imminent, and he served with the engineers during the siege. The force, consisting of not more than a thousand bayonets and six guns, stormed Kelat on the 13th of November, and took 2,000 prisoners; about four hundred of the garrison are supposed to have fallen and, amongst them, Mehrab Khan, and many of the Belooch Chiefs, our loss being thirty-two killed and one hundred and seven wounded. Outram had been in the thick of the fighting throughout the affair, but escaped without a scratch. His good service in conducting two companies of infantry to take up a material position during the siege, and the zeal and ability with which he performed various duties required of him, received especial notice in General Willshire's despatch to Lord Auckland reporting the victory.

Perhaps the most dangerous exploit accomplished by Outram in the whole of his singularly active career was his ride from Kelat to Sonmiani, a route the practicability of which for the passage of troops it was deemed an object of importance to ascertain. The distance is 350 miles and had never been visited by Europeans since Pottinger and Christie had travelled in the opposite direction in 1810. Starting at midnight, disguised as an Afghan, with one servant, he left camp under the guardianship of two Saiyids of Shâl, who had accepted the responsibility of escorting him, and whose two armed attendants made up the whole party. They were mounted on four ponies with two camels, carrying provisions for themselves, and as much as possible for the animals. The first day they were nineteen hours in the saddle, ran the gauntlet through a host of inquirers and families flying from Kelat and met with many adventures. Fortunately, Outram's mean garb diverted attention from him, and the Saiyids skilfully managed to keep him in the background and to answer all questions as if addressed to themselves. The comparative fairness of his complexion, however, was likely to create suspicion and, this once aroused, any over-anxiety to escape notice would bring about a catastrophe. He was passed off as a *Pir*, and had to act the part in the best fashion he could, one of the requirements of the saintly character being to subsist on dates and water, and another to mutter charms over tufts of hair which the owners of

sick animals submitted to his healing influence. The second day the road was safe, because deserted, and they slept among uninhabited ruins. On the third day the Saiyids left Outram concealed, while they went marketing at Nal, and they remained absent so long that he began to fear he was betrayed. They rode all that night, for to hurry on at utmost speed was necessary to outstrip the intelligence of the capture of Kelat, which would be certain to excite the hostility of the people. For eight days the flight continued over extremely barren tracts, affording hardly any herbage for their cattle, and across mountain paths which, as Outram remarked, were utterly incapable of being made practicable for guns, until they reached Sonmiani, exhausted with fatigue and semi-starvation. The port of safety was entered only just in time to escape the vengeance of the son of the Chief of Wadd, slain at the siege of Kelat, who had been spurring hard upon their heels for several days, and reached Sonmiani only a few hours after Outram had set sail for Kurrachee.

For his services at Kelat he was promoted to the rank of Major, a step that he ought in all justice to have received for his gallantry at Ghazni, and his report of the Kelat Somiani route received the express acknowledgments of both the Bombay and the Supreme Governments.

Almost immediately after his return to Bombay he was nominated political agent in Lower Scinde, an exchange for the Mahi Kanta, which he did not regard with much elation, for while the emoluments were not much greater, he dreaded the effect on his wife's health of the hot climate of Hyderabad. The work he had to perform was delicate and difficult, particularly that of inducing the Amirs to consent to the transfer of Shikarpur in lieu of a guaranteed subsidy. That he did not succeed in this ungracious object is no matter of wonder; but he effected a signal success in concluding a treaty with the restless Mir Sher Muhammad of Nurpur, a transaction which called forth the high approval of the Governor-General, and he was also instrumental in reducing the taxation of inland produce required by our forces, and in relieving the Indus traffic from vexatious tolls. In his personal intercourse with the Amirs he ever strove to achieve political objects by honest means, and the impression produced on the timid and subtle minds of these princes by the unswerving firmness and integrity of his character, was often more effectual than would have been that diplomatic finesse in which they recognised no master. The affection with which he inspired Nur Muhammad of Hyderabad, as shown in the scenes beside the death-bed of the latter, pleasingly illustrates the kindly nature of both the actors, and forms one of the most charming

episodes in this biography. In August 1841, the political agency of Upper Scinde becoming vacant, Lord Auckland showed his appreciation of Outram's merits by offering it to him, to be held in addition to that of Lower Scinde. Indeed, the tone of the Governor-General's correspondence with him was invariably friendly, even when the action of the subordinate had been at variance with his instructions. "It is bold and generous, and I am always disposed to turn to the judgment of those in whom I place such confidence as I place in you," are expressions of extraordinary favour and condescension coming from the lips of an Indian Viceroy. The first and perhaps most important achievement of Outram in his new post at Quetta, was the conclusion of a treaty of friendship with the Khan of Kelat, by which, among other advantages to us, it was provided that British counsels should be paramount; and that, when necessary, British troops should occupy Kelat.

When affairs in Kabul came to a crisis in November and December 1841, he saw clearly that the retrieval of our fortunes must begin from the side of Kandahar, and all his energies were directed to maintaining and strengthening our communications with that place. And when we finally crushed down the resistance of Akbar Khan and the allied Afghan Sirdars, not a little of the credit was to be attributed to the foresight, tact, and energy displayed by Outram during that miserable winter. We have no space, and indeed there is no need, in the present amplitude of historical records on the subject, to refer in detail to the events of the campaigns in which Pollock and Nott won their laurels and retrieved the honour of our arms; but that they were enabled to make the attempt, it should not be forgotten how great a part James Outram and George Clerk played in the background.

As Henry Lawrence wrote in the *Calcutta Review* of September 1845, it was "James Outram in one quarter, and George Clerk—a kindred spirit—in another, who were the two men who then stood in the breach; who *forced* the authorities to listen to the fact against which they tried to close their ears, that the proposed abandonment of the British prisoners in Afghanistan would be as dangerous to the State as it was base towards the captives."

It is painful to relate that persistence in this patriotic task drew down the frowns of those in power, and that in consequence of it Clerk was slighted, and Outram superseded. The latter's offence was moreover aggravated by the generous zeal with which he advocated the cause of Lieutenant Hammersley, his deputy at Quetta, whom he looked upon as harshly treated by Government. The degradation inflicted upon him—that of

making him a subaltern to General Nott, where he had so lately been supreme—was the more galling to his feelings as he knew it was undeserved, and that all his acts had been approved. The tone of communications to him from Government House became very different from that to which he had been accustomed, and reflected, it must be confessed, no credit on either the good taste or the urbanity of the writers. He struggled on, however, like a loyal soldier to obey the letter of the instructions conveyed too often discourteously, with, as his only consolation, the determination to resign his functions on the termination of hostilities.

His first meeting with Sir Charles Napier took place at Sakhar on October 1842. There is every reason to believe that their mutual regard was at first as genuine as it was outwardly cordial, and it is difficult to understand how the feud between them eventually became so bitter and enduring. Into the merits of that controversy we certainly shall not enter, and have merely to express regret that two such gallant soldiers and amiable men should ever have entered upon a paper war. Their intercourse, however, on this first occasion was but brief, for before the end of October Lord Ellenborough thought fit to order Outram to join his regiment without in any way recognising his exceptionally arduous and important services during the preceding three eventful years. This act of high-handed injustice raised a storm of indignation both in England and in India, and testimony poured in from every side of the high honour and estimation in which he was held by those under whom he had served, as well as by fellow officers and subordinates. Due reparation, however, did not come for several years, and the contest against official tyranny was a long and arduous one.

He was on the point of taking his first furlough and embarking for England—which he had not seen for 24 years—disheartened at the failure of his ambitious hopes and smarting under the treatment he had received, when he was suddenly countermanded back to Scinde to serve as a Commissioner under Sir Charles. The secretary's note, conveying this intimation, is certainly the most astounding piece of laconic discourtesy that has come under our experience, and would find its fitting place on a brazen tablet in a temple to impertinence. Contrary to the advice of his friends he obeyed the uncivil order—implicit obedience to *orders* was his guide through life—and the beginning of January found him at the side of the General, then on his march to reduce the fort of Imamgarh, in the desert of Upper Scinde. Divergencies—slight ones at first, but gradually widening as opportunities for differences of opinion increased—arose almost at once between Napier and Outram as to the policy to be pur-

sued towards the Amirs. The latter was in favour of justice, leaning towards mercy, the former was convinced that prompt and severe measures were called for. As annexation had been resolved upon, it is not easy to imagine how it could be effected without military conquest, but perhaps Outram was judicious, as well as benevolent, in recommending that the Amirs personally should be treated in a lenient and liberal spirit. The treacherous but abortive attack of eight thousand troops made upon him in the residence at Hyderabad, where he had only an escort of 100 men, produced no alteration of sentiment towards his doomed and self-willed protégés. Though not present on the field of Miani, Outram contributed to the victory by occupying and burning a shikargah on the flank of our advancing troops, where the enemy had intended to place twenty thousand of their men. Sir Charles Napier in his report, after complimenting "the fearless and distinguished Major Outram" for his extraordinary defence of his residence as a brilliant example of defending a military post, gave due credit to his operations against the enemy on the morning of the battle. In bidding farewell to Scinde he commends the captive Talpur princes to the kindly care of Lieutenant Brown, who had been appointed their custodian, and says,—“I do assure you, my heart bleeds for them, and it was in the fear that my feelings might betray me, that I declined the last interview they yesterday sought of me. If I could do them any good, I would not grudge any expenditure of time or labour on their behalf; but, alas, they have placed it out of my power to do aught, by acting contrary to my advice, and having recourse to the fatal step of appeal to arms against the British Power.”

His visit to England in 1843 was, we cannot help thinking, wasted in a futile championing of the deposed Amirs, which became, as Sir F. Goldsmid aptly remarks, the incubus of his life, and wearied out the splendid energies which might have been more usefully employed, at least for the advancement of his own interests; but this latter motive was ever the last on his thoughts. On his return to India at the commencement of 1844, his proffer of military service with the army of Sir Hugh Gough was rejected, Lord Ellenborough refused to see him, and the degradation was imposed upon him of accepting an assistantship under the Indore agency, a post inferior in salary and importance to his appointment in the Mahi Kanta of ten years before. But he bravely and patiently made up his mind to remain in the obscure exile to which he had been condemned at Mandlaisir “until Lord E. goes home.” That he pined and fretted under the hard measure dealt out to him, is evident from the tone of his letters at this time, which are devoid of all their wonted buoyancy and cheerfulness. At the

end of six months he resigned and was on the point of returning to England, broken in spirit and disappointed, when the news of troubles in the Southern Mahratta country inspired him with new life. The offer of his service was gladly accepted by the Bombay Government, which conferred on him special duty, and he promptly joined Colonel Wallace's camp at Samangarh at the storming of which place, two days after his arrival, he was the first man in the assault, and for several minutes stood alone among the enemy. The war horse had again found his true element and was on his mettle after his enforced seclusion! Again, at the siege of Panala, "the heroic Lieutenant-Colonel Outram was reported to be in his accustomed place, the front rank." It was not, however, as a dashing *sabreur* that he alone distinguished himself in this and the succeeding campaign in Sawant Wari. In the latter district things had been looking black, when he brought his talent for organisation and admirable tactics in guerilla warfare to bear upon the course of events, and beat down all obstacles before him. In acknowledgment of these services in the field, and the satisfactory arrangement of an intricate negotiation with the Portuguese authorities of Goa, he was appointed Resident at Satara, and commandant of the troops at that station.

About this time he made a material sacrifice of his private interests in declining to accept a rupee of the Scind prize money (3,000 was his share) to which he was entitled, on the ground that it was the fruits of a policy which he considered unjust. His first impulse was to hand it over to his ward, Mir Husain Ali, but eventually it was distributed in aid of charitable objects, among others, that of Dr. Duff's Indian Missionary Schools. His term of office at Satara was tranquil and uneventful, and ended in May 1847, when he was appointed British Resident at Baroda, the highest political situation in the gift of the Bombay Government.

His administration of affairs in Guzerat was signalised by the zeal with which he waged war on the system of corruption there prevailing among all ranks of native officials. That he failed to extirpate an evil which was so deeply ingrained in the habits of the people, is no matter of astonishment, if it be remembered that his efforts received but lukewarm support from head-quarters. At the end of little more than a year, the excessive mental fatigue and worry of the ungrateful task he had undertaken, combined with the proverbial unhealthiness of the locality in which the Gaikawar had established his court, brought on such alarming symptoms, that his medical advisers insisted on the necessity of his applying for sick leave. Immediately prior to

this application he had offered himself for active service in the Panjáb, an offer that was declined, and the two proposals rapidly following each other, seemed to the authorities somewhat inconsistent. But the fact was, and Outram was conscious of it, that the excitement of a campaign, or at least a large share of out-door occupation, was indispensable to his vigorous and fiery temperament, which pined and languished when too long deprived of its proper aliment. Of late years he had devoted himself almost exclusively to literary work, either official or polemical, relating to the lamentable Scind controversy with the Napiers, and he suffered the consequences in a debilitated frame and a slightly jaundiced mind. The sanitarium chosen for him was Egypt. He had been in that pleasant climate only four months, not nearly long enough to effect his restoration to health, when tidings of ill-omen from the Panjáb disturbed his rest, and called him back to what he had looked upon as the post of duty "of every officer who had eaten of the Company's salt." The news, however, of Gough's victory at Guzerat met him at Aden, and he saw no reason for proceeding further on his voyage. In retracing his way back to Suez he passed the Firuz bearing Sir Charles Napier, who had been created Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India during the short panic that existed in London upon the first intelligence of Chilianwala. Though auguring little advancement to his own interests from this appointment, Outram candidly confessed it was unavoidable under the circumstances. The remaining eight months of his furlough were spent in trips to various ports in the Levant, during which his shattered strength was somewhat repaired. He also occupied his leisure in writing a memoir on Egypt from a military and political point of view, the merits of which were afterwards fully recognised by the Government.

In May 1850 we find Outram back again at Baroda, busy in his self-imposed labour of cleansing that Augean stable of its filthy Khutput, and in championing the cause of one of his subordinates, whom he believed to be honest, against another whose conduct he thought justified a contrary opinion. Lord Falkland, at that time Governor of Bombay, did not approve of the line taken by Outram, and characterised his representations on the subject as "intemperate and indiscreet." The outcome of this divergence of opinion was that Outram submitted to the Government a "Report on the Popular Belief in Khutput," in which he attributed the existing evil to the leniency with which Government had treated those servants whose guilt had been established. It was dated October 31, 1851, and early in December came an angry letter in reply requesting him to disembar-

pass the Government of his services as Resident of Baroda. His leave-taking of the Gaikawar, had the outward show of amity, though there is little doubt Outram's life had been three times attempted by poison during his sojourn at this dangerous court.

We have not space to accompany him on his second visit to England in 1853, when he was chiefly occupied in urging his appeal against the official treatment of which he had been a victim, a cause in which we are happy to relate he proved finally and exceptionally triumphant. He returned to India armed with a special recommendation from the Court of Directors to Lord Dalhousie to employ him in some post equal to his former rank and eminent services. The Governor-General at once seized the opportunity which then offered itself of re-nominating him as Resident at Baroda, thus proclaiming in the clearest and most public manner, his sense of the previous act of injustice. It was not until March 1854 that he was able to leave Calcutta for the scene of his former labours and peril, and though his stay was but brief, on this occasion he contrived by a policy of mingled sternness and consideration, to teach the Gaikawar that the Supreme Government must be obeyed in all things, especially in the dismissal of bad ministers.

In April 1854 Outram was called upon to proceed as Political Agent to Aden, which the war with Russia at that time rendered a most important military and political station. Though suffering from ill-health, not improbably the effects of another dose of poison administered during his late short residence at Baroda, the few months he remained at Aden were marked by the same zeal and ability in organizing the affairs of Government, and providing for the comfort of the garrison in that vile climate, as marked his presence wherever his masters thought fit to send him.

At last, Outram was destined to receive a fitting reward for his long and manifold services. We quote from the letter to his mother announcing the intelligence and his own first impulse upon receiving it:—"Lord Dalhousie has selected me for the highest political office in India. You can now, therefore, have no scruple to receive from me whatever may be necessary to your comfort. I formerly said £500 a year, but I can well afford much more than that, if you could but be prevailed upon to expend it. I must now assume the privilege of insisting on your keeping a maid and a carriage." The reader will not forget the letter written by him to the same person thirty years before. The battered and ill-used veteran's heart beat as warmly and as fondly as did that of the subaltern of twenty. Henceforth Outram's biography is best studied in the history of England's

greatest dependency. His every act is stamped in indelible letters in the narrative of the recovery of India, and ignorant indeed will be the person who does not make himself first acquainted with the brilliant public career of this wise, unselfish, fame-loving, dishonour-hating Paladin of the East.

We have hitherto given a summarised record of an interesting and faithful biography, but for the most important passages of Outram's life, *viz.*, those which distinguished the years 1855-58, we take it that a skeleton memoir would only be repeating what every body knows, and for ampler details we can but advise the reader to consult Sir F. Goldsmid's second volume in which everything is said and well said, calculated to bring into relief the character and achievements of his hero in that gloomy but glorious period of our trial.

ART. II.—INDIAN PORTABLE ANTIQUITIES.

PHRENOLOGISTS tell us that veneration is, like every other inherent gift, capable of cultivation. In this country, the whole of which is venerable by reason of its "hoar antiquity," we, as a rule, see little to command our esteem, much less to create in our minds a feeling bordering on veneration. The old places do not come in one's every-day work. Ruins are of no use, except to provide ballast for the railway or bricks for the bungalow. In far off, weird places, the haunts of tigers, hyenas, owls and snakes, we read there are old temples which were erected thousands of years ago and filled with worshippers who adored one God alone. The outcome of all this is not very encouraging. Dirty *faqirs*, besmeared bodies, brahmin worship, and the apotheosis of filth in general. As a consequence, there are but few of the foreign residents of India who "go in" for its antiquities. Few, however, as are the foreign antiquarians of India, they are an army as compared with the small company the teeming millions of India have produced. If, by chance, one should stumble, in a shooting excursion, on an old place, tradition, with its thousands of accumulations, gives us so many manifest improbabilities that the mind revolts from them and rejects them. In most cases inscriptions in an unknown character arrest the attention, but only add to the mystery. Inscriptions require time to decipher them, and learning to unravel them. The first few have to spare, and of the second, as a rule, fewer have the particular branch required. But not only are inscriptions hard, the whole surroundings of the object of interest are probably equally filled with difficulties. The building may be overgrown with briars and thorns; the tank filled with mud, the walls shaky, the ruins infested with snakes, scorpions and centipedes: the foundations may not be visible. A thousand and one repulsive objects may tend to stop all further desire to enquire into the matter, and the whole thing is left alone and forgotten. The Government archæologist may examine it and draw plans of it and report on it. But to the general run of Anglo-Indians and Natives the place will remain much the same, unknown and uncared-for and unvisited. Still, however, every Briton seems to have a vein of the Vandal spirit running in him. Should there be anything portable or breakable, he will have it—a head, or arm, or leg, or ornament,—a leaf, or flower, or piece of tracery; a precious stone, a bit of mosaic work. No matter how

much the whole may be damaged by the extraction of one part, his desire to possess "a piece of the antique" as he calls it, rivals his powers of destruction, and he quietly appropriates it. When he goes home to England, he will show it to all his admiring friends; and before he goes home, it will serve as an object of curiosity to amuse friends in India and casual visitors. The stolen goods will probably be put forward on all occasions. Now and then some "interpreter of India" will come across it and explain the meaning of every portion of it. Should there be an inscription on it, he will decipher it, and even afterwards the relic will possess an additional interest from the fact that it has undergone the scrutiny of the learned and been explained. Thus the Vandal in us may often supply pabulum to a MaxMuller or a General Cunningham. More than this, it may serve to create an interest in India and its antiquities in the minds of those who are in training for India's future governors. Certainly, an image in a drawing room or in one's study can be handled freely and examined carefully; and if we have its history and its explanation, or its interpretation, there is no doubt that it is of more use than if it were stuck in some dusty corner of a museum, where it would have a ticket on it, which would, probably, refer to a manuscript catalogue which had never been completed, and therefore never published. In England such relics are handed round at missionary meetings, and they are all-powerful in the creation of funds. In India they are often regarded with contempt by the ignorant, and the well-informed are too much engrossed in the inscriptions in figures to be found opposite their own and their rivals' names in the Civil and Military Quarterly lists to take any notice of a voiceless stone.

Of course, the place for all the many things which antiquity has bequeathed to us is *the museum*,—*the public museum of the country*. But the museum must be worthy of the trust committed to its charge. The museum must be something more than a store of curiosities, and a great deal more than a show room. In India museums are as yet unorganized, and form no part of the plan for the education of the people. It is almost impossible for every educational institution to have a full museum. But when our higher schools and universities begin to teach what are called at home the sciences, the students will certainly desire to see the things described. Thus in geology, entomology, ichthyology, ornithology, botany, &c., no educational institution has store room even for the number of specimens required. But the provincial museum ought to have not only store room, but that room filled with arranged specimens. The museum buildings are all built on a wrong principle. There

should be a room for each subject. On certain hours of certain days in the week the college professors should have their students in these rooms and give their lectures there before the specimens. Due notice should be given of these lectures. The public might be admitted to them on the payment of a small fee. But during the lecture the room would be in the possession of the lecturer. In this way every lecture would be a step in the cultivation of powers of observation, powers in which Indian youths are singularly deficient. It would be a study of things, not merely of names. And this again is much needed. Indian youths are proficient crammers, and they seem to regard words as the created world, instead of what they are, vocal sounds by which *ideas of things* are conveyed to the human mind.

This applies to history also, and to historical data, such as historical monuments, antiquities, coins, &c. Pictures are not enough. *Things* must be studied. Or, where the thing itself is not obtainable, accurate casts should be obtained. We may be permitted to give an instance. Some years ago a student in the Normal School at Dehli was giving a lesson on Humayoon. The gentleman before whom it was being given asked the students if they had ever seen the Sher Mandal from which Humayoon fell. Not one of them had ever been to see it. They had no idea what kind of a building it was : they did not even know where it was. And the teachers were much in the same condition. The gentleman organized a visit to it, and although it was May, and intensely hot, he walked with the students all the way there and back. On arriving at the place the building was examined carefully, and then every one found out that the school histories were all wrong. They saw that it was impossible for Humayoon to have fallen over the parapet. He of course fell downstairs. But the guide follows the guide books, which follow the school histories, which were written by people who had never seen the Sher Mandal. They, most of them, say Humayoon's stick slipped on the marble steps, and there is not a bit of marble in the whole building. Standing on the roof the mosque is looked down upon, and it was not difficult to conjure up before the minds of the students the whole scene. On another occasion Humayoon's tomb and Firoz Sháh's *lát* were visited in order that events connected with the former might be realized more vividly, and that inscriptions, letters, on the latter might be examined carefully. Teachers of history in India would do well to throw their books to the winds occasionally, and go to the very places where the events were enacted. Some time ago, when in Dehli, we stopped for a few minutes before the Musjid on which Nádir Shah sat when he ordered the massacre of

Dehli. It was not difficult to convert the crowds of the streets into murdering Persians, and murdered Hindus and Muham-madans.

We may be permitted to give instances of ridiculous things which have come under our own notice, arising from a neglect of the study of things. In the Punjab every Seikh is called a Singh—a lion. But I have never yet seen a correct picture of a lion or of a tiger drawn by a Seikh. The tiger is spotted like a leopard, and the lion never has a mane. In some school-books lately got out in Benares by the Maharajah of Vizianagram, there is a lesson on the Shuter-murgh, or Ostrich, but the picture (the only one in the book, if we remember correctly,) is that of *a swan swimming in the water!*

It is this neglect of the study of things which has made the Indian artist what he is,—a deteriorating, degenerated copyist. No one can break the second commandment who worships his productions, for of a truth, they are not likenesses of anything in heaven above or in the earth beneath.

Not only, however, is this neglect productive of miscreations in art. It is the same in literature. The allusions and similes are all wrong, and will not stand examination. The commentators only add to the confusion thus created. In the Bustan of Sadi is a description of a fort of Kizil Arstan. Its neck was high as Mt. Elwand. Its approach was as full of convolutions as the curls of one's mistress. It stood out a wonderful thing to behold, like an egg in a plate of lapis lazuli. Now a Dehli commentator on this twists the fort into a building *on a plain* with a zig-zag approach to it. The idea of the fort being one of limestone rock, standing out against the beautiful blue of a mountain sky, never entered into his head. Still less could he lay hold of the idea of the fort being situated on a hill, the approach to which wound round and round. All the poetry was squeezed out of it by the commentator. He forgot, or perhaps never knew, that freebooters have always chosen the most inaccessible mountain tops for the purpose of erecting their strongholds on them.

All the people of England cannot visit India. Hence those antiquities which are taken home serve to give an idea of what India produced in the olden time. But it is not England and Europe only which want to know about India in the times of old. If we wish the people of India to be happy and contented, we must teach them from the ancient monuments of India itself what the condition of the country then was. Their literature is so full of lying interpolations that we cannot trust the statements it contains. The voiceless monuments can tell no lies. And fortunately the mass of the monuments are in solid rock, and

cannot be taken away ; cannot even be placed in museums. They must remain the inheritance of the country for ever.

There are, however, other antiquities, not fixtures ; antiquities which a man may carry on his person and not be incommoded, or may store in his house and carry away in his trunks and not seem to be encumbered with over many things. The searchers after these antiquities and the purchasers of them are yearly on the increase. And as acquaintance with the country progresses, there is likely to be a denuding demand for them. People in Europe are exceedingly desirous to possess this kind of Indian antiquities, and many books have been written and are being written upon them. We allude to the coins of India. Our school histories are correct when they tell us that one of the first acts of an Indian sovereign, on his coming to the throne, was to cause coins to be struck bearing his name. Hence every possessor of a real coin of an Indian king has a metal manuscript of the period in which the king reigned. Should the coin bear on it a figure of the king or of any animal, it at once proclaims the state of art at that period. Should it contain an inscription, not only does it show the Court language of the time, but also the language of the country-people. For coins were advertisements containing the name and titles of the ruling power. Again, as no power ever yet pretended to rule without some dependence on the gods, or on God, the inscriptions, and probably the figures, will contain allusions to or descriptions of the power on which they relied. So that a knowledge of the munismatics of a country enables us to get a clearer insight into the inner life of the people than we can obtain from ordinary histories.

In India, however, there is something more than all this attached to the study of the munismatics of the country. If any one will glance for a moment at a map of India, he will see that it is a congeries of countries—it is a continent. Now each country in this continent has a history of its own. But let a man open any, even the fullest of Indian histories, and he will at once see that the gaps are many, and the continued history very little. At the same time he will see that there are many subjects on which the historian says nothing ; either he was ignorant of them, or else all his research has given him no results.

India has a history stretching backwards to a period which we term pre-historic, because its history has not yet been found in any historical documents. Its commerce was extensive in the times of Solomon and Daniel. Darius conquered only a small portion of it, but from that small portion obtained immense revenue. To the ancient Greeks it was an Eldorado. Alexander came to it and conquered an outlying province of it. When he came, the coun-

try was ruled by many princes. We learn from the Grecian historians the names of a few only. Whether these princes coined or not, we are not told. In the bazaars at the present day we find pieces of silver of no fixed weight, on which are *punched* symbols of religious purport. And these symbols are found on the oldest monuments of India. Hence it is inferred that these may be the coins of the provinces of India at the period before and after the Greek invasion. On some of these coins are figures. Besides these there are some cast coins, containing religious symbols and names. And there are struck coins, containing both names, figures and religious symbols. When these shall be all collected and arranged, we may be able at any rate to find out who struck them, and something more about them. Inscriptions, grants-of-land written on copper-plates and the old literature of the country would (we could rely on it) give additional light. But the early history of India is like an Indian early dawn, at present very dark. Alexander appears in it like a morning star.

Alexander's stay in India was short. His soldiers, however, must have had with them abundance of spoil. Some of the soldiers who had fought at the Granicus, at Issus and Tyre, and Gaza and Arbela, must surely have been in the Grecian ranks at the crossing of the Jhelum; some of them must have been part of those who refused to cross the Beas, and of those who fell during Alexander's operations at Multan. Some of that spoil must have consisted of the coins of the cities which had been conquered, and which had paid tribute to Alexander. Some of it must have been re-coined in the name of Alexander. Whenever he founded a city he, in all probability, also established a mint. Hence we ought not to be surprised if we find in India Grecian coins of Athens and cities of Asia Minor, of Tyre and Sidon, of Alexander and Philip his father, of Darius and the predecessors of Darius.

After Alexander's departure from India and death at Babylon we know but little of the history of India. And, indeed, after all the history of Alexander throws only a meteoric light on a very small portion of the country. All India was not in the same condition as the Punjab then was, any more than it is now. We are given to understand that Alexander left rulers in the provinces he had conquered. We are told their names and the portions of the country allotted to each. But we have no history of them that is satisfying. For two or three generations we have some history of some of the rulers of the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire. We get their names. But each one seems only a bubble in the stream of time which appeared for a moment and then disappeared. Antiochus, Seleucus, Lysimachus are well-

known names, and of them we have pretty certain knowledge. We know also that a Theodotus established himself in Bactria or Tary as an independent sovereign. This took place about 80 years after Alexander's death, about 246 B.C. At the same time there were other independent sovereigns in Kabul and Parthia. Theodotus or Diodotus, as the coins have it, had a son Diodotus II. who was ousted by Euthydemus, whose son Demetrius was dethroned by Eukratides, who was in his turn murdered by his son, regarding whose name history is silent. Up to this we have history, and we have coins too. But besides these we have the coins of about thirty other kings. We do not know as yet whether the coins we possess represent all the kings who may have gained the throne and possessed a mint, but at any rate we have a goodly number, the majority of whose names do not appear in history. We may as well write down names:—Diodotus I, Diodotus II, Euthydemus, Demetrius, Pantaleon, Agathokles, Eukratides, Heliokles, Antimachus I, Antimachus II, Apollodotus, Lysias, Antialkidas, Amyntas, Nikias, Philoxenes, Straton I, Straton II, Archebius, Diornedes, Zoilus, Dionysius, Menander, Theophilus, Epander, Hippostratus, Apollphanes, Artemidorus, Telephus and Hermæus. The coins of the first and second Diodotus occur in gold and silver; those of Euthydemus in gold, silver, nickel and copper: of all the rest in silver and copper. Some are square, some are round. With the exception of the coins of Diodotus I. and II. Euthydemus, Demetrius, and Antimachus I. the coins are bilingual. On one side are the name and title in Greek. On the other side in Pali or old Sanskrit. But the Pali is of two kinds, Indian Pali and Bactrian. The coins of Agathokles and Pantaleon in copper have Indian Pali on their reverse. The coins of all the kings have monograms on them. These monograms are sometimes compounded of Greek letters, and sometimes of Pali ones. Some learned numismatists maintain that these monograms indicate the mint towns. Others think they are dates. General Cunningham takes the former view, and from the mints deduces the extent of the authority of each sovereign. In all probability he is right.

The coins are staters, tetradrachmas, didrachmas, drachmas, hemidrachmas, oboli, dichalkon, chalkon, &c.

Here alone there is a field for the collector, and not for the collector only. The historian gets a glimpse of a new world. He is reminded from the first, however, of this, that it is only a glimpse. Search as he will, he will find little more than the names on the coins. Two or three of the lists are mentioned in history. Inscriptions give next to no help. The coins, and the coins only, afford light. Hence they are most eagerly sought after. So eager has been the search, and so great the demand, that an enterprising

native in Rawal Pindi and several in other towns have taken to the trade of manufacturing old coins. Private individuals keep collectors who walk the whole country through, and ransack every bazaar for them. Rare types are paid for at enormous rates. The other day a dealer asked from us the modest sum of Rs. 400 for a drachma of Euthydemus and one of Agathokles. He had been offered a hundred each, and had refused it.

"Where do the coins come from"? many people ask. The answer is not hard to give. They are found in old buildings, ruins of towns and tombs, at the bottom of wells (strange to say, a custom prevails in the Punjab of appeasing the anger of the god of the 7th day of the week by casting a coin bearing an image into the wells,) in fields which may have been in olden time the scene of a fight. As a rule, they are not found in any great quantities at a time. Consequently, Government authorities never hear of the find. The fortunate finder takes them to the bazaar, where he sells them to the money-changer, bullion-dealer, or jeweller. Then they rapidly disappear. They are in great demand for ornaments, as the metal is good. If they are of copper, they frequently accumulate until some cheat of an alchymist comes round, and then they are melted for the sake of the gold they are supposed to contain. Should they fall into intelligent hands, they quickly find their way into the possession of the dealers, who esteem 1,500 per cent. moderate gains. But the mass of them get into the melting pot. Now and then a fanatic Musalman defaces the image with a chisel or hammer. The purchasers are generally private collectors, of course with the exception of regular dealers, who buy to sell again at greatly enhanced prices. Now and then an odd coin is presented to one of the provincial museums. But few have such love for the country of their adoption as to give their collections to it. There is no collection of these coins in India worth calling a cabinet. There are some in the museum of the Bengal Asiatic Society. There are none whatever in the Imperial Museum at Calcutta. The Lahore Museum have a few, but they are nearly all very poor ones, indeed. Of course, the men who have sought for them and paid for them, esteem them, and when they go home to England, they will take them with them, to be shown to friends and given away, or kept as the owner wills. Some will find their way to the provincial museums, and some will, by some stroke of good fortune, get into our most magnificent national coin collection in the British Museum, where they will be taken care of, studied, catalogued, described (if rare, edited) and exhibited. And the donor's name will be enrolled amongst the many who have given their precious things to their country. But natives of India show

little love for numismatics, although they are sharp enough after the current coin. And if they get hold of a good coin, they hoard it up with others, and they worship it occasionally, but it might just as well be buried. So that our museums are like the Ancient Mariner.

Water, water everywhere
And not a drop to drink.

There are old coins knocking about in every bazaar. They only await assortment, and purchase by some one interested in the matter. But we might as well expect the coins to come to us on their own image's legs as expect the bankers and dealers in bullion to bring them to us. 'Tis true the Ráwal Pindi and Peshawur dealers traverse the country in search of purchasers, but there are thousands of coins which never get into the dealers' paws. The dealers in bullion esteem the coins as so much silver or copper. It is far more economical, therefore, to go to the town or village, where, from its proximity to some ruins, or its position on one of the old commercial routes, we might expect to find in the stores of the money-changers some remnants of antiquity. In speaking of money-changers, we should try and realize what is meant—not a large establishment with counters and strong safes. A money-changer is a necessary individual in every Indian community of any size. As yet there are amongst the people thousands of coins of the rulers, we English have supplanted. These coins in copper, silver and gold have values varying as does the money market. Besides these there are the many different issues of the East India Company, all of which command different prices in the currency of the Empress of India. Then again the people are so parsimonious that many of their daily transactions are in cowries, and do not rise up to the value of a pie. Especially is this the case in the purchase of daily food. Hence the people want change for their pice, and the sellers want to convert the cowries into pice, and the copper coins into the much-coveted silver. So the money-changer sits on his mud-floor with a piece of stout canvas under him. Before him is a heap of cowries and piles of copper coins in four-anna columns. Behind him are bags full of rubbish—copper coins of the country. In some old cupboard or other he has a collection of things which have passed out of the common currency—dirty bags full of things rolled up in bits of dirty rag; jars of vast antiquity and much filth, filled partly with dust and partly with odds and ends of bits of old silver lace, amidst which are scattered some few odd coins of uncertain age. These bags and jars are the hope of the antiquary and numismatist. Sometimes in a man's box, where he keeps

his weights and scales, coins are found. When the coin was bought, it was put there, and so long as it remains there, it comes under daily notice, and thus the owner is assured of its preservation. These are the men, therefore, to whom we should go if we wish to purchase coins of the olden time. Colonel Stacey, whose fine collection was purchased by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, made his collection by constantly itinerating in the towns and villages. In the hot weather and in the cold nothing gave him so much pleasure as poring over a heap of old things which a bullion-dealer had not showed him before. The result was somewhat astounding. But only those who have been in the habit of following in his footsteps, can form any idea of what is to be found in one of these old shops. We remember once taking a run on the railway and calling at three towns only on the way. The results were somewhat cheering: we had secured no less than the coins of fifty-eight kings of kinds, and yet we did not spend more than twelve hours in the bazaars altogether.

This leads us to speak of vast numbers of sovereigns who have ruled over India at different times and in different provinces. Had the Saxon heptarchy remained until now in England, the task of the English numismatists would have been much more complex than it is. Well, after the Græco-Bactrians, came to India the Scythians who are now known by the name of Indo-Scythians. On the coins of the last Græco-Bactrian king we find not only his own name, *Hermæus*, in *Greek*, but we find the name in Bactrian Pali of his conqueror, *Kadaphes*, or *Kadphises*. This king afterwards coined in his own name. He must have reigned a long time over a large extent of country, for his coins are numerous, and some of the gold ones are in a most perfect state of preservation. Besides him we have *Kanerki*, *Azes*, *Azilises*, *Undapherres*, *Abdagases*, *Ardagases*, *Sasan*, *Mayes*, *Overki*, *Basdeo*, *Orthagnes*, *Arsakes*, and *Sanabares*. All these coins have Greek inscriptions on one side, and Bactrian Pali on the other. But the Greek is very much deteriorated. Mistakes are made in spelling, and the letters are scarcely legible. Besides all these, the coins are found in great numbers of a man who styles himself *Soter Megas*, the Great Saviour. The coins of these Indo-Scythians are exceedingly interesting, as they show us the prevailing religions of the country at the time. Many of the gold coins have the name and titles of the kings on one side in Greek, and the figure of a god with name in Greek on the other, the inscriptions in this type being *both* in Greek very much debased.

Contemporary with the Greeks and Indo-Scythians were the purely Indian princes of the Gupta family. Their coins occur in

gold and copper. The figures are of decidedly Indian production and are good examples of the art of the period. The inscriptions are in old Sanscrit. As there were some eight Gupta sovereigns who reigned long and governed much country, the coins of these kings are very numerous and of many types. Some of the artists of the late types seem to have dabbled in Greek art, for a very much-debased Grecian inscription is found round a still more debased head on some of the coins.

And besides there are hosts of Buddhist coins with symbols of the Buddhist faith on them. And in addition to these are the coins of numerous small dynasties which reigned in odd portions of India, and raised their little provinces to some degree of prosperity, which prosperity was in the course of a few generations a fruitful cause of destruction, deterioration in the kings from indulgence, attacks from without prompted by covetousness. These two classes of coins have been collected in goodly numbers, but they need classification and assignment.

As time rolled on the Buddhists were exterminated, and the country came into the clutches of the Brahmins, with Rajahs utterly in their power. The provinces must have been populous. The cities were large and contained large temples and much riches. Important rulers possessed large armies and numbers of elephants. Some few States were republics. We possess coins of one which flourished on the banks of the Sutlej. Dehli, Kunauj, Muttra, Oojain, Chitor and Kangra were great centres of population. But as far as we know at present, the period of 1,000 years after Christ is very little represented in numismatic records. The kings of Dehli number from the time of Vikramajeet to that of Prithvi Raj no less than seventy. And yet not one of these is represented in coins. There must have been some currency. It is just so too with Kangra. The earliest coins of this mountain principality are copies of coins of Samanta Deva, who was a Brahmin-king of Kabul. The coins of these Kabul kings are easily known. They have a bull couchant on the obverse, with name of king in Sanscrit over the bull. The reverse bears the figure of a horseman with lance, and on either side of his head are letters. The names on the coins which are both silver and copper are Samanta Deva, Siyalapati Deva, Bhim Deva, and Khadavaya Deva. The coins of the first one in both silver and copper are extremely common. But coins of the two last ones are extremely rare. Hindus never destroy these coins owing to the image of the bull being on them. These are the coins which all the Guznee kings in their Indian mints copied. The other day we came across a great find of these coins. They had all been struck at Lahore, and they bore the names

of five princes, Moudúd, Masaud I., Ibrahim, Abdur Rashid, and Farrukhzâd. Three types had the names of the princes *over the horseman* in Arabic; up to the present find only two were known. All the early Pathan kings took for their pattern this Kabul currency. The mass of the coins of this type are known by the name of the bull and horse dynasty. But an examination of the coins reveals a vast number of names of kings who used these devices.

About 90 years before the battle of Hastings, Subuktagin ascended the throne of Guzni. From that time for more than two hundred years, the frontier provinces of India, and at times more distant parts, were under the influence more or less of the Guznevite sovereigns. Two of these, Khusrau Shah and his son, Khusrau Malik, took up their residence at Lahore, and ruled there from 1152 to 1187 A.D. The coins of this latter king are very common in the Panjab. The coins of all the Guzni kings are also obtainable in both forms, *i.e.*, in pure Arabic and in the horse and bull types. Mahmud, the great Guzni conqueror of India, struck coins at Lahore in Sanscrit and Arabic. This was a great concession to the people of India. But the meaning of the inscription in Sanscrit was not very conciliatory. "The invisible is one, the incarnation is Muhammad, the king Mahmud." In both Arabic and Sanscrit, Lahore was called *Mahmudpur*, a name which it has fortunately not retained. Throughout the early times of the Muhammadan conquests and rule, these concessions of writing the name and titles of the king in Sanskrit were constantly made. The last of the Pathans who followed this laudable custom was Muhammad Bin Tuglaq in a small brass coin he issued. Sher Shah and the Súri family generally revived it on their rupees, and at least one of the later Bengal Pathans did the same on his rupees—Bahadur Shah.

When the north of India had come into the possession of the Muhammadans, the coins were issued in vast numbers. They must have called in the coins of previous kings and rajahs. This would account for none of them being now found. Each sovereign struck in silver, in a mixture of silver and copper and in copper simple. The types of each king are, as a rule, numerous, showing that the mints must have been constantly at work in all parts of the kingdom. In all there were thirty-six of these Pathan sovereigns. The greatest coiner of them was Muhammad Tuglaq. His coins were struck in almost innumerable types and in a great quantity of mints. Some of these sovereigns reigned for a short time only, *e.g.*, Humayun Sháh (the grandson of Firoz Sháh, the great builder-king,) who goes numismatically by the name of Sikandar Sháh, reigned only 45

days. But we have his coins in no less than five different types. They are not got out carelessly, hence we must infer that the die-cutters were well up to their work. Some of the kings did not coin at all. The rupees of several of them have not yet been met with, and the gold coins of more are still wanting. Up to the present there has been neither scientific research nor systematic research. Hence there may be in store many surprises. Up to this year no full weight rupee of Humayun, the father of Akbar, was known. The writer of the present paper had the good fortune to meet with one accidentally in a banker's shop at Saháranpur.

When the Moghuls came into power after the battle of Panipet, they ousted the Suris, who had initiated all the reforms in coinage and in the internal administration of the country which are generally ascribed to Akbar.

Babar and Humayun left but few mementoes behind them in the shape of gold and silver coins, although of copper they coined enough. But when Akbar ascended the throne and had got the country well in hand (it took him about thirty years to do this), then mints all over the country took up the work of producing coinage. Every year without stopping the mints were at work. Dies must have been made of great rubbish, for they were soon worn out. So that at last, not only the year, but the month in which it was initiated, was printed on the coin, together with the name of the town in which the mint was situated. The authors of the records of Akbar's reign enumerate forty-two mint towns. But there were more than these. The vagaries of the Moghul kings, with respect to their coinage, were many. Jahangir, in his early years, was most orthodox and drunken. Hence, his early coins, like those of his father Akbar, contained the Muhammadan confession of faith. His later coins contained images. Worse still, there is one coin well known, on which is an image of the king with that dearly loved Muhammadan abomination in his hand, a wine-cup. He got out gold and silver coins with the different signs of the zodiac on them. The images on these are supposed to have been designed by European artists. Shah Jahán, the next king, reverted to the orthodox fashion at an early period of his reign. But Aurungzeb, the most bigoted king who ever ascended the throne of India, ignored the Muhammadan creed altogether on his coins. People had enough of it in his actions: I suppose he thought they did not want it in their money transactions. His mints were very numerous. His money is rendered all the more interesting from the fact that he must always have carried his moneyers with him. Hence, whenever he took a town, he ordered money bearing his name at once to

be struck in it. Thus, every piece possesses an additional historical value.

Of the remaining Moghul sovereigns all we can say is that they went on coining until the time of Sháh Alam. After that time, although the puppet kings, Akbar II. and Bahadur Sháh II, were allowed to keep a mint in the palace of Dehli ; they had but little bullion available, and their coins were only struck on high days and holidays. Indeed, the coins of the last occupant of the throne of Dehli are as rare as those of the first Mubammadan Emperor, Muhammad Sám of Gaur.

We have as yet said nothing either of female sovereigns or of provincial rulers. Women have always exerted a power in the State. There is no country, not even France, where men have not had to acknowledge the power of their better-halves. On the Græco-Bactrian coins we have the names and figures of three queens. Laodike and Kalliope come along with their husbands, Heliokles and Hermaus. Agothaklias comes alone in the obverse of a square copper coin, and on the reverse is her husband's name, Straton, without his bust. So we may conclude that Straton had to submit entirely to her. In the other cases the queens come behind the kings.

Amongst the Pathans, Rezia Begum reigned in her own right, her only fault being, the historian says, that "she was a woman." Her coins are of several types, all very rare, especially her rupees.

Amongst the Moghuls, Noor Jahán, the wife of Jahángir, kept the influence she at first by her beauty obtained over the poor sot, her husband. Towards the end of his life, she struck coins bearing her own name and his. They are not very rare. They were struck in several mints.

Last of all over Runjeet Singh, Mora, a dancing girl, obtained such influence as to get permission to strike coins bearing her special marks. Mora means a peacock. She could not put her name on the coins, for Runjeet Singh never did that. But she put her mark upon them, the tail of a peacock, or rather a rude representation of it ; on some coins she put the mark of her profession as a prostitute ; the *ársí*, or looking glass, worn by such women on their thumbs during the time of the Pathans and Moghuls. Many States which had been independent still kept so. But at last most of them had to succumb to the one great power. Thus Kashmere kept its independence up to the time of Humayun, although long before that it had been governed by Musalman sultans. The history of this country commences with the desiccation of the valley. The coins of its maharajahs go very far back, indeed ; how far, we do not know as yet. The coins of some of the early men are only now being deciphered. We do not know yet of the

coins of at least half its sultans. Hence Kashmere alone affords a field of virgin soil to the patient numismatic investigator. Up to the present the gold coin of one maharajah is known, and the silver coins of three; in all probability all of them coined in silver as well as copper. Against this probability, however, stands the fact that, although three silver coins of Kashmere maharajahs have been found, not one silver or gold coin of either Kangra or Chumba, adjoining mountain states, is known.

But, besides Kashmere, no State in the north of India held out against the Pathans. Proud Rajputs had to acknowledge themselves conquered. Before the time of Babar, however, not only in Bengal, but all over the Dekhan and Central India, independent Muhammadan States arose. Some lasted but a short time, others for many generations. All these numerous States had each their separate coinage, each one on a model of its own.

It was thus also on the occasion of the fall of the Moghul empire. Its disintegration resulted in the creation of a number of small States all over the country. It was then that in the Punjab a commonwealth of Seikhs arose, which resulted in the monarchy of the strongest member of it, Runjeet Singh, who conquered each part separately and created a kingdom which lasted but one generation, and then was swallowed up in the progress of the Indian British Empire.

Thus we have traced from the earlier historical times the rise and progress of the various component parts of what now form our Indian Empire in the east. We have seen India before its conquest from the west, and we have noted the various waves of victorious armies which one after another seized upon it and overwhelmed it, the Persian, the Greek, the Scythian, the Guznevite, the Gauri, the Pathan and the Moghul. Each inundation left a deposit of its own in which its history can be read by the patient investigator who interests himself in this most interesting country and in the changes which have happened to it.

It now rests with us to see how much a paternal government is trying to interest its children in the history of the land of their birth. Of that history their own literature conveys all kinds of false ideas. Coins tell no lies at any rate, and convey no flattery. They often tell unpleasant truths, and make the lover of his country groan. Coins give contemporary history and serve as illustrations of every period. The British nation has spent large sums in unearthing inscriptions in far off lands, because those inscriptions throw some light upon the history of ancient nations. The British museum is full of trophies thus won from Egypt and Assyria, from Greece and Rome, from the Nile and Tigris and Euphrates, from the seven hills of Rome, and from Mars hill

outside Athens. In India as yet no beginning whatever has been made towards the foundation of a collection of coins which would illustrate the history of the country over which our Gracious Queen is Empress. We have shown that every year old Indian coins are getting fewer and fewer, and those which are obtainable fetch very high prices, indeed, if purchased from dealers. We have, moreover, shown how coins may be obtained cheaply. After many years of experience in numismatics, it seems to us that what is wanted is systematic and scientific search. It is not all grist that comes to the mill, neither are all fish edible which are taken in the net. If an unlearned man be employed he will bring all kinds of things which are not wanted. Our museums are full of gifts of this kind. A man finds a pot of coins in a field or well. They are forthwith sent to the museum. There they are labelled as coins presented by so-and-so and found in such-and-such a place. Historically they are probably useless, being all rust. It is only the "*interpreter*" who can give any meaning to them. They may be valuable. There are few curators of museums in India, who would understand their value if they were purely Indian coins.

The present learned gentleman at the head of the Archæological Survey of India is undoubtedly the man who understands more about Indian coins than any other man living. But he has his hands more than full already. And, besides, it is not his work at all. It is only a subordinate part of the work of which his is the whole. We cannot expect him to go about the country on flying visits to all kinds of bazaars where deposits of an archæological character may be taking place. Neither can we expect him to visit museums, and see that no false interpretation (a very common thing indeed) is placed on the inscriptions the coins contain.

Up to the present our museums have not only not been properly used, they have not been adequately supported. The grants apportioned to them are meagre in the extreme. Our provincial Government says distinctly:—We will leave the matter of coins to private enterprize. As a consequence private enterprize will leave that Government the refuse of the coins, and will walk off with the best. Now, such indifference is cruel. There is a museum in that province. But according to the present Government, all that is required is a curator who is scarcely ever present, and who, if present, does not understand the objects his museum contains. A certain sum of money is allowed for the purchase of coins, but no purchases are made by men who understand them. In Calcutta, the capital of the Empire, there are several collections which belong to private individuals, and are therefore private.

There is one belonging also, as we have said, to the Asiatic Society; that of course is open to the inspection of members of the Society. There is no Imperial collection at all. In Dehli, the former capital of the Empire, there is a small collection which consists of packets of coins of all kinds valuable and pure rubbish, wrapped up in bits of paper and locked up in a strong iron box. They are unassorted, and there is no catalogue of them. So that a visitor cannot ascertain what the museum contains until he has been down to the bottom of the box and unfolded every piece of paper. Is this museum-work worthy of our go-ahead times? Surely, it is beneath criticism. But there are many things beneath criticism which are not beneath notice. The former curator of the museum was a man who did understand coins. He never arranged one packet of those committed to his care. But he made a vast collection of valuable coins for himself, and sold them at fabulous prices. We ourselves remember paying one rupee for a pice of Sham-sud-din Altamash, while a friend of ours gave a rupee for one of Rezia's. Of course he had no one to look him up. The money with which he made his purchases was his own. He loved the subject. He had no money given to him to make purchases for his museum. And the results are as we have stated. There was near Dehli a large find of Græco-Bactrian hemidrachmas at a place called Soneput. We do not remember seeing one in the whole of the Dehli collection, although a good many of these coins passed through his hands. We cannot blame him. Patriotism never was a strong point in Hindoos when they were being governed by an alien nation.

Of course collections of coins, like collections of every thing else, may be made without being used. In order that they may be used intelligently, a catalogue is necessary that the student may know where to look for a thing he wants, and the traveller may find out what he is looking at. Besides that a catalogue is necessary to prevent precious and rare coins being purloined. A man would hardly dare to steal a coin and offer it for sale to the only men who would come to buy it—men who knew the coin by description.

Again, officers in India are constantly being changed. They come fresh from home, knowing very little of the country, except from books. If they see coins, and in the course of their many movements, they must of necessity see goodly numbers, how are they to tell what is valuable, and what is only refuse? They have had no experience. They may not perhaps be aware of the existence of the many treasures Indian bazaars contain. For there is no such thing as a "Coin Collector's Manual for India," in which coins are figured and briefly described. Bulky volumes there are—

reports of the proceedings of learned societies, "The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," "The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," "Prinsep's Indian Antiquities," "The Ariana Antiqua," "Marsden's Numismata Orientalia," "The Journal of the Numismatic Society of London," "Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli, compiled chiefly from coins." But we cannot purchase the majority of these works for love or money. And if we could, they would form a library of themselves. There is no concise treatise, we could place in the hands of a young officer just arrived in the country, which would give him an idea of what he might meet, were he bent on numismatic research. We say research, because we remember distinctly showing a friend of ours, one conversant with Indian cities and Indian peoples and languages, a Master of Arts of Oxford withal, some Græco-Bactrian coins. His first question was, and let it be borne in mind that this was after nearly 30 years' residence in India. Well, but where did you get these from? When we told him from the bazaar of our city, he was incredulous. The truth is, we remembered some years ago seeing some notice in some history of India about these very coins. And we took it into our head to get them if they were obtainable in any way whatever. For months we traversed the bazaars and got nothing. At last a coin of Antialkidas presented itself, for which we gave the magnificent sum of four annas. And from that time, it was known throughout the city that an Englishman had given the foolishly extravagant sum of four annas for a copper coin, and we had no difficulty whatever in obtaining access to many a hidden treasure from which we have frequently enriched our own cabinet. But we found research and patient study necessary; study to see what our predecessors, our mighty predecessors, Marsden, Masson, Prinsep, Stacey, Guthrie, Thomas, Bayley, and, last and greatest of all, General Cunningham, had done; research in order that we might know what the supply at present in the bazaars might give us. We should have hailed with joy an "Indian Coin Collector's Guide," or any such thing. Failing this, we had to search in many a mine of learned things. Only now and then we struck a seam likely to yield us what we wanted.

We imagine that, were some fit person appointed by Government, he would find his time fully occupied for several years, at any rate, were he first of all to make an Imperial Collection of Coins for India; (2) to arrange all the coins at present in Indian existing museums; (3) to edit a "Coin Collector's Manual for India." We are not advocating the establishment of a department; such a thing is not needed. We are not even advocating the creation of a permanent office. We do not believe such a

thing is needed, although our home museum has its coin department, with its curators. There, perhaps, it is absolutely necessary. We are advocating the cause of order and progress. There can be neither the one nor the other where ignorance and indifference prevail. We wish our friends who may "go in" for "*portable antiquities*" to do so intelligently. At the same time we wish the Government of India to secure for its educated subjects those mementoes of former Governments, the memory of which, when their history has been truly taught, can only endear the British Government of India to every right-thinking man.

CHAS. J. RODGERS.

ART.—III. PART. I.—HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO.

IN the old European burying ground of Calcutta, on the south side of Park Street, amid obelisks, pyramids, pillars and tombs of various forms, all fast falling to pieces, and from many of which the inscriptions penned by loving and grateful hands, have been obliterated, while the very name and memory of those "who sleep below" have long passed into forgetfulness, there is a nameless grave at the western extremity, "next to the monument of Major Maling on the south." Here was laid in the first flush of manhood, 50 years ago, all that was mortal of one of the highest gifted and most accomplished of Eurasians, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, poet, philosopher and freethinker.

Since that day a new generation of men has arisen, to whom, though belonging to their own community, such distinguished men as Derozio, Rickets, Kyd, Skinner, Kirkpatrick, Byrne, Montague, Pote, Theobald, Dickens, and others, are names and little more. It seems to us, that if the memory of their worth and usefulness is to be rescued from that oblivion which the rapid course of time is fast accomplishing, some attempt, however imperfect, should be made to place on record something of their life and work, before the last of those who knew them as they walked the earth and played their part in life, have died out and made it impossible to recover facts and incidents that otherwise must perish.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio was born on the 10th April 1809, in the house which stands to this day on the 24-Pergunnah side of Circular Road, at the head of Jaun Bazaar Street. The building is surrounded by a large compound in which there is a tank, and is a good specimen of the old-fashioned substantial houses of fifty years ago. Derozio's father, who was descended from a respectable Portuguese family, named DeRozario, occupied a highly respectable position in the mercantile house of Messrs. J. Scott and Co., in Calcutta; and must have been a man of some means, for the house he dwelt in was his own property, and his children received the best education that could then be procured in Calcutta. He was twice married, and the subject of this biographical sketch was born to his first wife. Besides Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, there were other three children, an elder brother Frank, who seems to have led a worthless life, and ultimately went to the bad, a younger brother Claudius, of whom little or nothing seems to be known beyond the fact that he went to Scotland to

be educated, and returned with a broad Scottish accent that stuck to him for many a day, and a sister, Amelia, between whom and Henry there was that warm enduring love which sometimes binds together, in a more than usual degree, a brother and sister. Amelia shared many of her brother's enjoyments, sympathised with him in his verse-making, encouraged him in all his undertakings, in short, believed in him and his power to influence thought and men, before any one else did. Of Amelia's future, little is known. After death and ill-fortune had broken up the family, she seems to have gone to Serampore, where it is believed she married. One other relation it is needful to mention. Henry's aunt, his father's sister, married a European gentleman, an Indigo Planter at Bhaugulpore. Mr. Arthur Johnson, Derozio's uncle, was born at Ringwood in Hampshire in the year 1782. He served for some years in the Royal Navy; and at the age of 25, settled in India. For many years he was a highly prosperous man, but in the closing years of his life reverses of fortune overtook him, and he died, and was buried at Bhaugulpore in September 1847, after a residence in India of forty years. A monument to his memory records that "he won the respect and good-will of all around him, and secured the lasting friendship of many by his general worth and benevolence of heart." There is no one in Bhaugulpore to-day who knows anything about his great nephew. On frequent occasions visits were paid to the married aunt; and there, on a rock in the middle of the river, the boy Derozio saw the *fakir* which was the first suggestion to his fertile imagination of the longest and most sustained flight of his muse, "*The Fakir of Jungeerah*," an eastern tale, which to this day stands unrivalled amongst indigenous Indian poems in excellence and truthfulness of delineation and in beauty and fertility of poetic imagery. At an early age Derozio went to the school kept by David Drummond in Dhurumtollah, the site of which is now bounded by Goomghur on the north, Hospital Lane on the west, Dhurumtollah on the south, and the Livery Stables opposite Crump and Abbott's Dispensary on the east, from each of which directions, gates entered the compound of the school. Here he received all the education that schools and schoolmasters ever gave him. Drummond was a Scotchman, a good example of the best type of the old Scotch *Dominie*, a scholar and a gentleman, equally versed and well read in the classics, mathematics and metaphysics of his day, and trained, as most Scotch students of the close of last century and beginning of this were, less in the grammatical niceties and distinctions of verbal criticism, though these were not neglected, than in the *thought* of the great writers of antiquity and in the power of independent

thinking. This culture and power of independent thought, Drummond seems to have had the power of imparting in an unusual degree, and on none of his pupils did he more distinctly impress his own individuality than on the young Derozio. Over the remains of David Drummond in the New Burial Ground, Circular Road, there is a monument erected by his friends and pupils, on which are recorded respect for his character, admiration for his talents, and esteem for his worth. He died in April, 1843, at the age of 56. Mr. David Drummond is represented as a man of no ordinary vigour of mind; whose writings display "great quickness and subtilty of thought." Mr. Drummond wrote a small book against the claims of Phrenology to rank as a science, the title of which is *Objections to Phrenology*; and which the critics of his day spoke of as "ingenious and acute." Altogether Drummond was no ordinary man.

Amongst many of the orthodox inhabitants of Calcutta the Scotch Schoolmaster was looked on as, if not an open disciple of David Hume, nevertheless, a very doubtful person in whose hands to place their children, lest some of the independence of thought which characterised the master should imbue the pupil, and lead him to reason on subjects which they had been taught to accept with implicit faith. We do not mean to imply that Drummond was charged with open atheism; but the feeling amongst many parents was, that on the whole, there was some danger of the faith, implicit, unreasoned faith, of their fathers being unsettled by the fearless and independent thinking for themselves which characterised some of Drummond's pupils. There was another famous school in Boitakhanah, presided over by a most estimable and orthodox pedagogue, a distinguished member of the Old Mission Church, Mr. Hutteman. Round him the faithful gathered; but those who cared less for orthodoxy and more for a thorough education sent their sons to Drummond of Dhurrumtollah. Hutteman was a good classic and turned out some fine scholars, but if thought and the power of thinking, and not grammatical niceties and the power to be unintelligible and a bore in half a dozen languages, are the true aim of education, then the countryman of Hume was the better educator. The naturally imaginative impulsiveness and powerful mind of Derozio were quickened and spurred into action under the clear, incisive, logical guidance of David Drummond, the crooked backed, broad-minded Scotchman, who for eight years, from the day Derozio entered his school, a child of six, till he left it a lad of fourteen, watched him with interest, and aided the rapid development of his splendid powers of intellect and imagination; and before the age of twenty, six years after he left school and entered

on the work of his short life, his acquaintances with the literature and thought of England, and, so far as these could be attained through the medium of an English translator, his knowledge of the best thinkers and writers of European celebrity, was of such a character as to mark him off, at that early age, as a man not in any degree inferior to, and in some respects far in advance of, any of his contemporaries of any nationality in India. Derozio was no classic scholar. It is even very doubtful if he ever got much beyond the *Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres* which marked the infant classic steps of the scholar of his day; but there was no poet, or dramatic writer, or thinker, of English lineage with whose works Derozio was not familiar—familiar in a sense which the examination driven, high pressure students of to-day might well envy. In mathematics he did little more than cross the “asses’ bridge.” His chief delight, his sole pursuit outside of the cricketing, the amateur theatricals, and other sports natural to boys of his years, was the literature and the thought of England, as he found these embodied in the poets, novelists, dramatists, and philosophers of that country. Till the latest day of his short life, poetry and philosophy were the chief charm of his existence. There were two places in India where the most recent works issued from the press of Britain could be found. These were the shelves of the most enterprising book-sellers, and the library of Derozio, frequently the latter alone. The boy companions of Derozio were, almost without exception, in after-life noteworthy men. Lawrence Augustus DeSouza has shown by his large-hearted, open-handed, benefactions to the Eurasian community, in his care for the widow and the orphan, and the struggling scholar—a kingly example of philanthropy and the wise use of wealth, which will embalm his name, a precious memory, in the hearts of Eurasians. W. Kirkpatrick was one of a band of earnest men, among whom were J. W. Ricketts, Rose, Wale Byrne, H. Andrews, R. H. Hollingberry, and others, who laboured incessantly in after-life for the social, moral, religious and intellectual advancement of men of their own blood. Kirkpatrick, M. Crow, R. Fenwick and other East Indians were the chief leader writers of the old *East Indian*, a newspaper planned, edited and successfully carried on by Derozio till his death. Kirkpatrick also edited and wrote for the *Orient Pearl*, an annual, something after the style of the *Republic of Letters*, and which contains many articles that are interesting reading to this day. J. W. Ricketts contributed to the *Orient Pearl*, as well as other leading members of the community.

Charles Pote, another boy companion of Derozio, the “Eurasian Artist,” whose portrait of Lord Metcalfe adorns the Town Hall of

Calcutta, along with Derozio and David Hare, gave that impetus to enquiry among higher class Hindoos which made the work of Duff and his successors a matter of easy accomplishment. As lads, DeSouza, DaCosta, Pote, W. Kirkpatrick, McLeod, Galloway and others, were members, with Derozio, of the same Cricket Club, that played on autumn evenings on the *maidan*, that took part in school theatricals, for which Derozio wrote prologues before the age of 14, and that swam and sported together in early summer mornings in the Barnon Bustee, the great tank now filled up, which once stood at the end of what is now Wood Street, with Camac Street on the west, and Theatre Road on the north, and native villages stretching out to the south and east.

At the age of 14, Derozio, as we have said, ended his school life; but David Drummond, the grim, Scottish, hunchbacked school-master, and Henry Derozio, the sprightly, clean-limbed, brilliant Eurasian boy, admired and loved each other as rarely master and pupil do. None watched with greater interest his short career, and there were few sadder hearts in Calcutta, that followed Derozio to his early grave that wintry afternoon, than David Drummond of Dhurruntollah.

On leaving school in the year 1823, Derozio became a clerk in the firm of Messrs. J. Scott and Company. In this firm his father had long held a highly responsible position. There was no fascination for Derozio in the drudgery of the desk, to which so many men of his race have clung, and are clinging, rather than strike out for themselves—independent sources of living, notwithstanding the earnest and eloquent appeals that have been made by such eminent men of their own community as James Kyd, the Kidderpore ship-builder, and others since his day. In face of the positive certainty that educated natives will drive, and now actually are driving, Eurasians from clerkships and quill-driving generally, no adequate effort has yet been put forth by Eurasians themselves to secure a future for their children; and the recently established Eurasian Associations are too young yet to predict much for their future usefulness. The four walls of an office and a clerk's stool were speedily relinquished by Derozio; and in the varied work and life of an Indigo-planter at Bhaugulpore, under the hospitable roof of his uncle Johnson, and the kindly eye of his mother's sister, the lad Derozio for a time found congenial occupation. It was here, at Bhaugulpore, with the ripple of the Ganges in his ear, and the boats of the fisher, and the trader borne on the tide, out of whose broad bosom rose the Fakir-inhabited rock of Jungheera, that the youthful poet drunk in all those sweet influences of nature and much of human nature, which indelibly impressed themselves on

his intellect and imagination, and stirred him to the production of his most sustained effort in poetry, the *Fakir of Jungheera*.

In a note to the lines—

“Jungheera's rocks are hoar and steep
“And Ganges wave is broad and deep.”

Derozio says, “although I once lived nearly three years in the vicinity of Jungheera, I had but one opportunity of seeing that beautiful and truly romantic spot. I had a view of the rocks from the opposite bank of the river, which was broad and full at the time I saw it, during the rainy season. It struck me then as a place where achievements in love and arms might take place; and the double character I had heard of the Fakir, together with some acquaintance with the scenery, induced me to form a tale upon both these circumstances. From “Forest's Tour” along the Ganges and Jumna, I submit to the reader the following description of Jungheera. The foliage he speaks of did not strike me, probably in consequence of the great distance at which I saw the island, which in a subsequent part of the poem I have called bleak and bare :—

“At some distance from Monghyr, we saw on the river Ganges on our right, a singular mass of rock standing in the water, and somewhat resembling those of Colgong. It is distant about two hundred yards from the right bank immediately opposite to the village of Sultangunge. It rises about seventy feet above the level of the water, towering abruptly from its bosom; there is one place only at which a boat can be put in, and where there is a landing-place, and a very steep and winding path leads to summit. Here is found a small building, Madrissa, or village of Fakirs, or wandering monks who reside in it.....The whole forms a pretty object, as you run past in a boat and the thick and luxuriant foliage which crowns the summit adds much to the effect of the picture.”

Here, at Bhaugulpore, there fell on his ear and eye, and lingered in his memory, the plash of oars in the river, the greetings and gossip of women round the well, the creaking of the yoke, the patient toil of the ryots in their fields, the sounds that happy children make at play, their voices conning lessons, squatted in the mud under a peepul tree or the shade of a verandah, the song of girls grinding at the mill, the wheel and deft hand of the potter fashioning the homely vessels of the ryot, and the thicket and the jungle, full of teeming life, the roar of the tiger by night, the stroke of the coppersmith at his forge, the drums and music and songs, and processions of pujahs and marriage-feasts, the rippling laughter, half muffled head and gleaming eyes, and winsome face and figure of village beauties,

and over all this myriad tinted, many voiced, ever changing scene, full of life and beauty and wonder, the glorious panorama of an Indian sunset, when in the west clouds wreath themselves in slow majestic motions, and unfold their changeful, chameleon tints, deepening into blackest night, and day and its glories seem like a gorgeous dream of beauty, swallowed up by darkness.

It is that hour when dusky night
Comes gathering o'er departing light,
When hue by hue and ray by ray,
Thine eye may watch it waste away,
Until thou canst no more behold
The faded tints of pallid gold,
And soft descend the shades of night,
As did those hues so purely bright ;
And in the blue sky, star by star,
Shines out, like happiness afar ;
A wilderness of worlds !—To dwell
In one, with those we have loved well
Were bliss indeed !—The waters flow
Gurgling, in darkest hue below,
And 'gainst the shore the ripple breaks
As from its cave, the east wind wakes,
But lo ! where Dian's crest on high appears,
Faint as the memory of departing years.

NIGHT (DEROZIO.)

The moon is gone ; and thus go those we love ;
The night winds wail ; and thus for them we mourn ;
The stars look down ; thus spirits from above
Hallow the mourners' tears upon the urn.
Some thoughts are all of joy, and some of woe ;
Mine end in tears—they're welcome—let them flow
..... We look around,
But vainly look for those who formed a part
Of us, as we of them, and whom we wore
Like gems in bezels, in the heart's deep core.
Where are they now ?—gone to that " narrow cell "
Whose gloom no lamp hath broken, nor shall break,
Whose secrets never spirit came to tell :—
O ! that their day might dawn, for then they would awake .

DAY (DEROZIO.)

Mid surroundings and musings such as these, Derozio's imagination was kindled into enthusiasm ; and those graver and more abstract speculations which in after-life, and over his early grave, earned for him, at the hands of fanatics and bigots, the calumnious name of atheist and infidel, were thought out and in some measure formulated.

From his uncle's plantation of Bhaugulpore, Derozio sent to Dr John Grant of the *India Gazette* those poetical contributions which bear the signature of *Juvenis*. The letters that passed between Derozio and Grant are unhappily lost ; indeed so far as

we have been able to learn, no single scrap of his correspondence exists, except three letters, the one dated 25th April 1831, addressed to the Managing Committee of the Hindoo College, resigning his position as master of the second and third classes in Literature and History ; the other, a day later, to his friend Dr. H. H. Wilson, a member of the Committee of the Hindoo College, written in reply to certain questions submitted to him by Dr. Wilson, and another which we have been able to recover besides these. These letters will be reproduced in their proper place in this short sketch. The encouragement given by Grant of the *India Gazette*, and his appreciation of the young poet's merits, induced Derozio to collect his verses and publish them in a separate volume. In the year 1826 he came to Calcutta ; and the lad of 17 saw his first production through the press, and immediately found himself famous. Indigo-planting and Bhaugulpore became things of the past ; and Derozio, as Sub-Editor of the *India Gazette*, editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, contributor to the *Literary Gazette*, and assistant-master in the senior department of the Hindoo College, adopted teaching as a profession and literature as a staff. Some of Derozio's articles in the *India Gazette* are said not to have been popular, being "flippant and pretentious." As a rule, his articles were always clever, smart, and lively ; and yet had an air of "coxcombery and conceit that injured the effect of much truth and originality of observation." The letters which passed between Grant and Derozio are characterised by one who knew of their existence, as highly creditable to both and marked by high chivalrous feeling and admiration on both sides, and mutual respect. Pecuniary matters were touched on with a delicacy of phraseology and feeling not common now-a-days. Derozio and Grant agreed to differ, and in their difference mutually respected each other. Dr. John Grant, the editor of the *India Gazette*, the contemporary, along with Derozio, of Meredith Parker, D. L. Richardson, and David Hare, is thus described by one who remembered him well : "He was a man of great information, and of infinite quotation ; could rap you out a paragraph of Cicero, or half a page of Bolingbroke ; simmered easily into poetry ; and after dinner on his legs could pour you forth a stream of rhetoric, which, if it had had any religion in it, would have done for a Scotch sermon." Hare, Grant, Richardson and Parker, all men of ability were the close friends of Derozio, and admirers of his genius. Of Grant it has been said, "he rocked the cradle of his genius and followed its hearse." In 1827, his second volume, which was a reprint of the first, with some additions, notably *The Fakir of Jungheera*, raised the fame of Derozio as a poet, to the highest point which his too brief life permitted him to reach.

In all the meetings and controversy which at that time were moving Eurasians to strive for the rights hitherto withheld from them by the unjust jealousy of the Indian rulers and advisers of those days, Derozio played an independent and important part. The men that as happy boys shouted together in play, now stood on the same platform and raised their voices in indignant protest and appeal against the social and legal ban that denied them even the name or the rights of British born subjects, and withheld from them the right of trial by jury and *Habeas Corpus*. Differences of opinion as to the line of action and the name which the united community should take, Indo-Britons, East Indians, Indo-Europeans, Anglo-Indians, very early arose in the movement which ultimately culminated in the East Indians' petition to Parliament of 1830, on behalf of which J. W. Ricketts undertook a journey to England, as their agent, to press the justice of their claims to the legal status of British subjects. Derozio, himself a member of Committee, was opposed to the proceedings which J. W. Ricketts brought to such a successful termination. Derozio was impressed with the belief, all arguments to the contrary being had in view, "That the descendants of European foreigners were not included among the parties from whom the petition was said to come. He entertained the impression that in England, that class, who had numerous signed the petition, would not be properly, if at all, represented by Mr. Ricketts. On the return of Ricketts, Reed, Theobald, Theodore Dickens, and Derozio, who had consistently opposed the sending of a delegate, joined in honouring him for his modest, manly and successful advocacy of their claims; and at a meeting held in the Town Hall on the 28th March 1831, Derozio, in moving the proposition that, as a mark of approbation, respect, and affection, Mr. Ricketts should be presented, as a memorial of gratitude by his countrymen, with a silver vase, his portrait in oil, and a public dinner welcoming him to his native shore, spoke as follows:—"Why then am I here this day. I have "intimated that I have been called here by duty, and that "is a voice which I dare not disobey. I am an East Indian, "and therefore I ought to be here. I am interested in the "welfare of my countrymen, and therefore I ought to be here! "I am anxious to know what measures have been adopted "to promote that welfare, and therefore I ought to be here. "I love my country and I love justice, and therefore I ought "to be here. Shall it be said of me that I was a man who, "having committed an error, was afraid or ashamed to acknow- "ledge it? They know me not who entertain this opinion of "me:—I am satisfied that I have done him (J. W. Ricketts) "wrong. Publicly was the error committed, as publicly is it

“ recalled.....Our condition is worse than savage degradation.
“ Of what savage tribes has it yet been recorded that the parents
“ have consigned their offspring to infamy? No, Sir, it has
“ been left for civilized man to do, what no barbarian has ever
“ yet conceived, and that has been to work out for an unhappy
“ class the conditions against which we complain. Taking this
“ view of these conditions, the petition of which Mr. Ricketts
“ was the bearer, was the remonstrance of East Indians against
“ the unnatural cruelty of their fathers..... This assembly has
“ already accorded its thanks to him, but although the acknow-
“ ledgments of grateful hearts are pleasing, the labour of men
“ in a public cause should not be passed by in that way. Mr.
“ Ricketts has told us, that our gratulations and the plaudits
“ he has received this day have rendered him indebted to us.
“ Gentlemen, that sentiment has made us doubly his debtors.
“ Conceive yourselves transported back to the days of Greek
“ and Roman glory, conceive yourselves a community existing
“ in those ages, with brilliant examples before your eyes of
“ honours and triumphs accorded to those who had served their
“ country; conceive how such examples had operated upon
“ your minds, and how you had then welcomed to his native
“ shore the man who for you has done much and suffered much.
“ Many whom I have now the honour to address are aware that
“ it is not recently that he has exerted himself to ameliorate
“ our condition. In youth, when he first felt life in every
“ limb, that animation was inspired by an unabating zeal
“ to do his country service. You can testify whether I
“ overrate him, when I declare, that, if any man is entitled to
“ the gratitude of the East Indian community, that man is
“ John William Ricketts. Had he been entitled to it on no
“ other ground than because the *Parental Academic Institution*
“ (the Doveton College,) an establishment, which if not well sup-
“ ported, is less creditable to those who should support it than to
“ its founder, owes its origin to him, such gratitude had been well
“ deserved. Should we not, therefore, present to him some token
“ of our regard, which he may hand down to his posterity, that the
“ conduct of so excellent a father and so worthy a man may
“ not be lost upon his sons; but that it may inspire his
“ children to render such services to yours as he has done to
“ you. If then, I am surrounded by East Indians, if there be in
“ your bosoms one spark of manly feeling which may be kindled
“ into a flame: if you consider patriotic exertion in your cause
“ as worthy of imitation, if you are alive to just principles of
“ duty, I charge you by all that is dear to your hearts to
“ support the proposition which I shall now submit.”

The proposition so eloquently advocated by Derozio, was carried unanimously. At the same meeting, in seconding the motion of his friend Charles Pote, the Eurasian Artist, that a second petition should be drawn up and presented to the new parliament, and that the agitation of their claims to equal rights as British subjects should be continued till it bore fruit in just concession to right long withheld, Derozio spoke as follows :—

“I rise to support the proposition of Mr. Pote. As junior counsel in the case, I cannot, however, be expected to dwell so long or so ably upon its merits. But its importance and the necessity of pressing it upon the consideration of this meeting, must be my apology for the liberty I take with the patience and indulgence of all around me.”

“Although our respected delegate has informed us of his having received very favourable assurances from certain noble Lords and other influential individuals in Parliament, I cannot see the evils which the adoption of this resolution is likely to entail. Why are we assembled here this day? Are we to confine ourselves to a particular routine and exclude all matters which do not come exactly within it? Is this assembly unprepared to entertain this proposition? What is the difficulty in its way? Is it characterised by less discretion than zeal? He who entertains such a notion has certainly misunderstood the object of my friend Mr. Pote, and attended but indifferently to the tenor of his suggestions. It is not required of the committee to prepare a petition this moment, nor is it supposed that any individual present has such a document ready in his pocket which he has only to lay upon the table for instant signature. Such speed is not contemplated by us. We only call upon our friends to request the committee to draft another petition, and that no haste may do mischief, to take care that it shall be fully approved of before it is signed and despatched. Suppose this resolution is adopted, and that it afterwards becomes unnecessary, what harm will be done? We shall only have to change our minds—a matter of no inconvenience. Were there no other consideration, the fact that one House of Commons rarely takes cognizance of petitions addressed to its predecessor, should be alone sufficient to convince us of the imperative necessity of appealing to the Legislature of Great Britain again. What have we hitherto done? What have we yet obtained? Where are our spoils? Have our rights been restored? Have our claims been conceded? No, sir, we have but just taken the field, and now, shall we rest upon our arms? The spirit of exclusion has only been startled upon his throne; but there sits the demon still mocking our efforts, and grinning

"over his triumphs. Our hearts must not faint, our nerves must
 "not slacken. Let us not trust our cause to men who have
 "nothing for us but empty profession. Our friend Mr. Ricketts
 "has told us, that Lord Ashley sympathises with us, and that
 "Sir Alexander Johnston is deeply interested for us. But their
 "sympathy and their interest, however likely to call forth our
 "gratitude, should never claim our confidence. Do you suppose,
 "that any Member of the Legislature, touched by so much tenderness,
 "will address either House of Parliament in some such way as this?
 "Gentlemen, here am I overflowing with the milk of human
 "kindness, anxious to restore to that long neglected and un-
 "justly treated race, the East Indians, those rights—*which*
 "*they do not demand.* No, sir, such will never be the language
 "of legislators: the benevolence of statesmen seldom incom-
 "modes them to such an alarming degree. But the very
 "facts which Mr. Ricketts reports communicate to us should
 "lead us to distrust noble Lords and honourable gentlemen.
 "What are those facts? Lord Ashley felt for us! We thank his
 "Lordship. He promised to present our petition. This was
 "generous. But when the time came for his Lordship's hand
 "to follow up the benevolent suggestions of his heart, that hand
 "became suddenly paralyzed. Weighty matters of State pressed
 "upon his heart; and the petition was left to make its own
 "way into the House of Commons. I am apprehensive, (though
 "I only suggest the possibility of the thing) that matters of State
 "may be as burdensome to our other sympathising friends in Par-
 "liament, and that such paralytic attacks as, we see, do sometimes
 "afflict Lord Ashley, may be common to others, who are deeply in-
 "terested in our welfare. To protect ourselves against such mis-
 "chances, it would not perhaps be the most unwise course to
 "petition the Legislature. Gentlemen, you have nothing to fear
 "from firm and respectful remonstrance. Your calls for justice
 "must be as incessant as your grievances are heavy. Complain
 "again and again, complain till you are heard. Aye, and until
 "you are answered. The ocean leaves traces of every inroad it
 "makes upon the shore; but it must repeat those inroads with
 "unabated strength, and follow them up with rapidity, before
 "it washes away the strand."

Though the memory of Derozio has been shamelessly neglected
 by his fellow Eurasians, his body resting in a nameless grave
 in an obscure corner of a dilapidated grave-yard, and his very
 name, if known at all to the rising generation of men of his own
 blood, known in a hazy sort of way, the calumnies of his life still
 clinging to his shadowy memory; the course of action so ably
 and wisely advocated by Charles Pote, and Henry Derozio, has

not altogether been without fruit. But we venture to think that, had Eurasians been more energetic in their assertion of equal rights, and an equal share, not only of posts in the Government of India for which they were suited, but of an adequate State-aided system of education for their children, their position to-day would not have been that of a race burdened in the battle of life, with conditions which, in some respects, they themselves have induced. Through this reprehensible apathy and indifference to their own best interests, which rarely allow them to rise much higher than talk and platform oratory, even in the December of 1876, on the occasion of the inauguration of *The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association* in the Town Hall of Calcutta, with Sir Richard Temple in the chair, when the Eurasian population of Calcutta was proved by the census of that year to number over 11,000, and probably double that number in the whole presidency of Bengal, less than three hundred Eurasians came together to organize a movement on which so much of their own future depended; and which afforded them an opportunity of manifesting the reality of their earnestness to help themselves and exhibiting to the Legislators of India and England, their determination to make known their just complaints, "to complain again and again, till they were heard and till they were answered," to follow up with unabated strength and rapidity every means which would ensure the welfare, the education, the social status, the political influence and the future well-being of their class.

It was not alone on the platform and in the social circle that Derozio advocated the claims of his class. In the columns of the *Hesperus*, an evening paper which, while teaching in the Hindoo College and assisting Krishna Mohun Bauerjee and other of his students in the pages of the *Enquirer*, he had successfully launched, he championed the claims of Eurasians. The evening *Hesperus* gave place to the *East Indian* daily, and the Eurasians of those days responded to the call of Derozio, and worthily supported him and his staff, in the endeavour to secure for East Indians an organ of their own, in which to ventilate their grievances, to attack public shams and official derelictions, and to maintain for themselves a position of power and influence in India, which is still the far-off goal, even of the most sanguine Eurasians of to-day. The subscription for this paper was Rs. 5 a month, a sum much in excess of what a high class daily may now be had for; and during the two years of its existence, 1830-1, which covered the closing years of Derozio's life, it was distinguished for its public spiritedness and the talent with which it was conducted. No doubt, feeling ran high and articles charged with bitterness and sweeping assertions, and it

may be, personalities roused the opposition of other sections of the Press of India; but in those days an amount of personal feeling and vigorous outspoken language was probably imported into public discussions which now-a-days would not be indulged in, unless by the more rabid organs of the press. However this may be, in Derozio's editing of the *East Indian*, a circumstance took place with the like of which this generation is not altogether unfamiliar. At that time, the old *John Bull* was edited by Robert Adair Macnaghten, a gentleman who, for many years before his death in 1846, was a Captain on the Retired List of the Bengal Army, a writer of distinguished ability both in verse and prose on the press of India, and who, along with John O'Brien Saunders, Cobb Hurry of the *Delhi Gazette*, and others, since the days of the deported Silk Buckingham, had gradually developed the high tone and ability of the Indian Press, and freed it from the leading strings of Government control, till it could rank in usefulness, vigor and independence with the press of any country in the world. An article from the pen of Derozio in the columns of the *East Indian* had stung Captain Macnaghten of the *John Bull* beyond the ordinary bounds of prudence, and he made his appearance in the editorial office of the *East Indian* armed with a cane to demand satisfaction from Derozio. The latter was then a neatly dressed lad of twenty-one, and the Captain, a man of at least thirty-five. On acquainting Derozio with the object of his visit, and exhibiting his cane: "I have come to have satisfaction," Derozio replied, "Then take it." There must have been something in the tone and bearing of Derozio which speedily effected the evaporation, either of the courage or the intention of the Captain; for he contented himself with gently laying his cane on Derozio's shoulder; and declaring, "Consider yourself assaulted, Sir." Turning on his heel, he left the office, followed by the gay laugh of the amused Derozio. Nothing further came of this passage at-arms beyond a war of words in the various newspapers. We subjoin Derozio's letter closing the discussion:—

(*The India Gazette*, September 29th, 1831).

CAPTAIN MACNAGHTEN AND MR. DEROZIO.

Captain Macnaghten says, in to-day's *John Bull*, that he is determined not to read the *East Indian* and *Hurkaru* any more. Regarding his assault upon me there are two statements—his supported by Captain White, and mine by Mr. King. Whatever opinion the public may entertain regarding the assailant and the assailed, it will be unanimously admitted that the unfairness of the transaction belongs to Captain Macnaghten. When gentlemen come to assault others for supposed aggressions, the parties cannot conceal their

names from each other without the imputation of cowardice and the suspicion of being ruffians. Captain Macnaghten never gave me his name, I found him out, and even after I succeeded in unmasking him, he continued (till to-day) to call himself "Tit-for-tat," as if he shrank from identifying himself with the person that assailed me. I dismiss this business from my hands and the thought of it from my mind, with the satisfaction of having done nothing wrong. Persons of character and respectability, whose good opinion I desire, will acquit me of everything improper in this transaction. My conduct will sufficiently prove that I had not the least suspicion of being assaulted, as I was; that I endeavoured to find out my assailant; and that upon discovering his character, I was prevented by my friends from pursuing him as a gentleman. I am sure there is no other officer in the army who would have come to a stranger as Captain Macnaghten did to me, without in the first instance giving up his name. Circumstances depending entirely on my being put in possession of my assailant's name would have influenced my decision regarding the course to be taken. Captain Macnaghten has done his tattered character, no good by attempting to patch it up in this way. It is not in my nature to entertain a feeling of resentment long; and now that the affair is about to pass from public attention, and that excitement has given place to reflection, I pity the man who has brought himself into a situation so deplorable. He is even now upon his knees, entreating the *Hurkuru* to spare him the recollection of his former disgrace; and it is to be hoped that the editor of that paper will grant the prayer of a fallen man, who sues for mercy. With these sentiments I withdraw myself from the scene in which I have been obliged for some days to act so conspicuous a part. Having fixed upon my assailant the infamy which his conduct deserves, I abandon him to his own reflections and the charity of the public.

H. L. V. DEROZIO.

27th September 1831.

No detailed estimate of Derozio's career and influence as a journalist can ever be hoped for, till some future biographer more fortunate, if not more painstaking, than we have been, may be fortunate enough to disentomb files, more or less complete of the *India Gazette*, *Calcutta Gazette*, *Literary Gazette*, the *Enquirer*, the *Hesperus* and *The East Indian*. It is in the pages of these journals, now seemingly lost, or existing only in a mutilated form, that, with the exception of the *Fakir of Jungheerah*, the most finished productions of Derozio in verse and prose are shut up. There is not a newspaper office in Calcutta, and we suppose Calcutta is a fair example of India

generally in this matter, that possesses a complete file of its own issue. In the case of the *Indian Daily News*, the lineal successor of Dr. John Grant's *India Gazette*, and the old *Hurkaru*, there is not a scrap existing of the older journals which it succeeded. There is not a library, public, private, or departmental, which contains complete files of the Calcutta newspapers of the first half of the century; and, however interesting and useful extracts from the *Calcutta* and other *Gazettes* may be, it will be utterly impossible to write the history of that period of India's progress, commercial, social, and otherwise, as fully as could have been done, if these and other journals had been preserved. The difficulty of preserving cumbrous files of books in India is well known. In a single night the ravages of white-ants may do much to destroy the most unique and valuable volumes; and, if left undisturbed, a few years would complete their destruction. In England, if kept from damp, books may lie for years unimpaired, though covered with dust. Besides this, the rapid changes in society, the various hands through which the property of public journals passes, and the carelessness of servants render it more uncertain that files shall be preserved and transmitted. It seems to us that, in the matter of the preservation of public newspapers, and providing easy public access to their files, the Government have not been as mindful as they ought; and we venture to suggest, that steps should be taken to complete as far as possible the blank files of defunct journals; and early sets of those at present existing secured. There are, we are persuaded, cartloads of minutes and trashy reports lumbering the record rooms of Indian Departments, which might very well disappear and make room for that record of public intelligence and stream of criticism, suggestion and discussion, on all the multifarious topics which concern the press, and the men of the then existing generation, from which the social, political and constitutional history of a country can most truthfully and with the greatest minuteness be gathered.

The influence which Derozio exercised in society, on the platform and in the press, to bring about what he himself never lived to see, the first fruits of the moderate assertion of their rights as British subjects by the Eurasian community, has, up to the present time, never yet, we venture to think, been realized. There is no argument used now-a-days on behalf of the Eurasian community, which Derozio and the men with whom he was associated 50 years ago, did not use with more eloquence, with greater moderation, and with more indomitable perseverance and ability. It has been the fate of Derozio, as it has been that of other eminent men, that the sun of his short life should go down, in baseless calumny, and the white heat of religious controversy; and that the men

of succeeding generations distant from his own, should have imposed on them the task of clearing his character from unjust charges, vindicating his fame as a poet of no mean eminence, and estimating in some fashion his influence on the thought and action of his time. The influence which he exercised on behalf of his own class, and on the general thought of his time through the press, and on the platform, we have pointed out rather than exhibited in detail. That detail can be forthcoming only, on a minute study of what we have hitherto failed to obtain access to, if indeed they exist, *viz.*, the files of those Journals in which Derozio wrote, and which he conducted with such marked ability, but which the community who ought to have preserved his memory green, have, to their own shame, allowed so speedily to be annihilated. Even the Library of the Doveton College, an essentially Eurasian Institution, has neither a copy of his works nor a leaf of a newspaper of his conducting, not even a single report or record of the numerous meetings and proceedings, in all of which Eurasians had a vital interest, nor yet a complete set of the reports of their own Institution. And the few books composing the Library are dropping to pieces, a shameful monument of Eurasian zeal and gratitude, to the honor of their fathers and the memory of their dead.

In the March of 1828, Derozio was appointed master of English Literature and History in the second and third classes of the Hindoo College. This appointment, seemingly so insignificant, marks the early development of one of the most important movements in the intellectual history of the native-born subjects of this land. No teacher ever taught with greater zeal, with more enthusiasm, with more loving intercourse between master and pupil than marked the short term of Derozio's connection with the Hindoo College.

Neither before, nor since his day, has any teacher within the walls of any native educational establishment in India, ever exercised such an influence over his pupils. It was not alone in the class-rooms and during the hours of teaching that the genial manner, the buoyant spirits, the ready humour, the wide reading, the readiness to impart knowledge, and the patience and courtesy of Derozio won the hearts and the high reverence of his pupils. In the intervals of teaching, he was ever ready in conversation to aid his pupils in their studies, to draw them out to give free and full expression to their opinions, on topics naturally arising from the course of their work in the class-rooms; and before the hour at which the usual work of his classes began, and sometimes after the hour for closing the day's duties, Derozio, in addition to the work of the class, in order to broaden and deepen the knowledge of his

pupils in the thought and literature of England, gave readings in English literature to as many students of the Hindoo College as cared to take advantage of his self-imposed work. In consort with his pupils, he established the *Academic Association*, which met in a garden-house belonging to the Singh family in Manicktollah, where night after night under the presidency of Derozio, and with Omachurn Bose as Secretary, the lads of the Hindoo College read their papers, discussed, debated and wrangled; and acquired for themselves the facility of expressing their thoughts in words and the power of ready reply and argument. To these meetings there frequently came the unassuming, large-hearted philanthropist, David Hare, in "white jacket and old-fashioned gaiters" or "blue coat," with large brass buttons, the dress-coat of his youth; and occasionally Sir Edward Ryan, and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, visited the meetings. Poetry and Philosophy were the chief themes discussed. Derozio's attainments in philosophy were as wide and varied as his acquaintance with the poets and dramatists. Indeed, his innate gift of song, which entitles him to rank as an English poet of no inconsiderable eminence, was but the outcome of his vigorous intellect, which sought in verse an outlet for the restless mental activity that marks superior minds. No doubt, in the meetings of the *Academic Association* and in the social circle that gathered round his hospitable table in the old house in Circular Road, subjects were broached and discussed with freedom, which could not have been approached in the classroom. Free-will, fore-ordination, fate, faith, the sacredness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of deity as these have been set forth by Hume on the one side, and Reid, Dugald Stewart and Brown on the other; the hollowness of idolatry, and the shams of the priesthood, were subjects which stirred to their very depths the young, fearless, hopeful hearts of the leading Hindoo youths of Calcutta; but that either Derozio or his pupils revelled, as has been asserted, in the "more licentious plays of the Restoration, and the minor pieces of Tom Paine, born of the filth of the worst period of the French Revolution," or that lawless lust and western vice entered into some, with the secularism and anti-theism of the Hindoo College, that Derozio taught "the none-existence of God," that he admitted it, and that he was "an atheistic and immoral poet," are all of them unproved assertions, and baseless calumnies, which Dr. George Smith, the Biographer of Duff, should have been at some pains to sift, before branding with infamy the memory of the dead. We venture to affirm that, whatever books and plays were read and studied by Derozio and his pupils, whatever topics were broached in discussion and in conversa-

tion, either in the class-rooms, the *Academic Association*, or in the friendly circle under his own roof tree, the license of thought and the field of thinking were no greater, and no more reprehensible than that over which must traverse the mind of every man, who thinks out for himself the realities of nature, humanity and God. Anger, reprobation and foul names, heaped on seekers after truth are the standard weapons of more timid men ; and in too many cases, the consequence of their use is, that minds naturally open to the reception of truth and a love of its pursuit, bear with them through life contempt of the well-meaning fanatics who would gauge the universe and measure out the love of God by the standard of their own narrow theological dogmatism.

According to Dr. Smith (Duff's Life, Vol. I., pages 144-5) such was the notoriety of the Hindoo College that the fame of its infidelity reach even America, and an enterprising publisher "issued a cheap octavo edition of a thousand copies and shipped the whole to the Calcutta market. These were all bought at once at two shillings a copy ; and such was the continued demand for the worst of the treatises that eight rupees (sixteen shillings) were vainly offered for it." In this connexion, a reference is given to the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for August 1832. We venture to rehearse the story of the introduction of Tom Paine's works to Calcutta, as told in the columns of the *Sumachar Durpun* for July 1832. It may be interesting to state, that the *Durpun* was a bi-weekly journal, published in English and Bengalee, and was the most useful of all the native papers then published. It was issued from the Mission Press of Serampore, and edited by Marshman. While interfering little in religious discussions, it nevertheless opposed Hindoo bigotry and intolerance. Its articles were distinguished by good temper and discretion. In the pages of the *Durpun* "the cheap edition of a thousand copies which Dr. Smith sells off at two shillings a copy in his life of Duff, as noted above, stands at something less than a hundred. Here is the statement made by the *Sumachar Durpun* :—"We understand that some time since a large number of the works of Tom Paine, not far short of a hundred, were sent for sale to Calcutta from America ; and that one of the native booksellers, despairing of a sale, fixed the price of each copy at a rupee ; a few were sold at this price, which falling into the hands of some young men educated in English, the anxiety to purchase the work became great. The vendor immediately raised the price to five rupees a copy, but even at that price we hear that his whole stock was sold among the natives in a few days. Some one soon after took the trouble to translate some part of Paine's 'Age of Reason' into Bengalee,

and to publish it in the *Prubhakar*, calling upon the missionaries and upon one venerable character by name to reply to it. We at the same time received several letters from some of the most respectable natives in Calcutta, subscribers of the *Durpun*, but staunch Hindoos, entreating us not to notice the challenge, or to make the pages of this journal the arena for theological disputations."

Whoever gave way to "lawless lust and western vice," and comforted themselves with cold secularism and immorality, it was not Derozio, nor was it the immediate circle of lads whom he most powerfully influenced. The moral teaching of Derozio was as high and pure as his own life was blameless; and issued in as good results as ever follow in the wake of an earnest striving after truth. That he shook the citadel of higher Hindooism to its very foundation, in a fashion that no man, teacher or preacher, has ever done before or since his day, is an undoubted fact, which has been overshadowed by the *odium theologicum* heaped on his religious opinions, the splendid rhetoric of Duff, and that measure of success which the Scottish Missionary accomplished, by taking up the work of Derozio when his hands were paralyzed, first by calumny, opprobrium and the bigotry of higher class Hindoos and others, and then by death. Before ever Duff set foot in India, the theistic schism in Hindooism, which exists in strong vitality to-day as the Brahmo Somaj, and which is likely to increase in strength, and work out for the people of India a system of religious thought, totally unlike the dogmatic formulæ of the various sections either of the Western or the Eastern Church, had been effected by Ram Mohun Roy. The question of English education had been discussed, and partly settled as early as 1816 in the founding of the School Book Society and the Hindoo School. Ram Mohun Roy had himself protested against the founding of a Sanscrit College, though himself a Sanscrit scholar; and, in a letter addressed to His Excellency Lord Amherst in 1823, he declared, that the teaching of Sanscrit would completely defeat the objects of the Government, and waste the sum set apart for the instruction of the natives of India. A seminary of this sort, he says, "can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions, of little or no use to their possessors or to society. The pupils will acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men. The Sanscrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness...but as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it should consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful

sciences, which may be accomplished with the sums proposed, by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments, and other apparatus."

The unremitting devotion and energy of David Hare, backed by the leaders of Hindoo Society, had secured the possibility of an English education, and demonstrated its success, some years before Duff opened his school for Hindoo boys under the patronage of Ram Mohun Roy in the July of 1830. In 1824 Dr. James Bryce, Minister of the Scottish Kirk, Senior Chaplain on the Bengal establishment, editor of the *John Bull*, and Clerk of Stationery, presented a petition and memorial to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, proposing plans for the conduct of Indian missions, which he declared (page 16, *Native Education in India*) are now (1834) being "so successfully carried out." This scheme bore with it the recommendation of Ram Mohun Roy. Duff's biographer, however, asserts (see page 40, *Duff's Life*) that "Dr. Bryce's scheme was one for almost everything that Duff's was not." Bryce's book was published in England during Duff's residence there, after his first five years' work in India, and must have been well known to him. Duff never questioned the general identity of plan between his own work and the proposal of Bryce; and certainly Bryce believed them to be identical. The institution of the Academic Association by Derozio in 1828 had been followed by numerous imitations among the native Hindoos. Native society was in a perfect ferment, and the full consequence of the impact of European thought and speculation on Eastern ideas and systems had been fairly realised, and partly demonstrated by the teaching of Derozio, before Duff reached India. The great truths and wide speculations opened out by the study of moral philosophy had been unfolded in a series of lectures to which crowded hundreds of English-speaking Hindoo youths, delivered by Derozio at the invitation of David Hare,—all this, before Duff's voice was heard addressing a native English-speaking assembly. It is a curious distortion of fact to assert, as Dr. George Smith in his life of Duff does, that the college watched over and fostered by David Hare and in which Derozio, as a teacher, effected so much, was a "college which Ram Mohun Roy was ashamed to patronize." Ram Mohun Roy and David Hare lived through life in the greatest amity and mutual respect. It was David Hare's niece who nursed the Rajah in his last illness; and Bedford Square, the home of Hare's two brothers, was the home of Ram Mohun Roy during his stay in England; while one of them accompanied him to France on the occasion of his visit to Paris. It was the persuasion of David

Hare, backed by the influence of Sir Edward Hyde East and the strong common sense of Ram Mohun Roy, which made him withdraw from a movement, the earlier stages of which he had fostered, being fully persuaded, that if his name appeared on the committee of management, the objects of the Institution would be frustrated. The large and wealthy section of orthodox Hindoos with whom Ram Mohun Roy had been long at feud, would have altogether withdrawn from the establishment of a college with which he was in any way connected.

The lectures on philosophy which Derozio delivered to crowded audiences of educated Hindoo youths, if even notes of them ever existed, as in all probability they did, have been lost. Not only so, but a critique of Derozio's on the philosophy of Kant is also seemingly lost to this generation, or stowed away in the lumber of forgotten libraries. Of this critique of Derozio's, Dr. Mill, the distinguished Sanscrit scholar, and one of the most learned and able Principals of the now defunct Bishop's (Middleton) College, declared, before a large public assembly "that the objections which Derozio published to the philosophy of Kant, were perfectly original, and displayed powers of reasoning and observation which would not disgrace even gifted philosophers." Derozio's native friends have been even more eulogistic; and in their admiration of his clear, subtle power of thinking, as evidenced in this critique, have mentioned his name in the same breath with that of the greatest of modern Scottish scholars and philosophers, Sir William Hamilton. No true estimate of Derozio as a philosopher and thinker can be arrived at so long as this critique remains unknown.

The establishment of the Academic Institution, and the full and free discussion nightly carried on at its meetings, was followed within a few months by the establishment of between twelve and fourteen newspapers chiefly conducted by natives, advocating views of all sorts, from orthodox Hindooism to Materialism, and carrying on in print the discussion of questions raised in the *Academic* and in the numerous debating societies which sprung up as offshoots and auxiliaries of the parent society. Duff's lectures on the evidences of Christianity, as well as the rise of about dozen native schools supported by Hindoos; all these were but the outcome of the training of the Hindoo school, and the influence and teaching of Derozio. The lads, most powerfully influenced by Derozio, and who were in closest contact and sympathy with him, numbered over eighteen. A note or two regarding the more prominent of these may be interesting.

Krishna Mohun Banerjea, of all Derozio's pupil-friends, was probably the most intimately acquainted with him; and is the one

above all the rest who has distinguished himself as a scholar and a thinker. At the time when Derozio taught in the Hindoo College, Krishna Mohun Banerjea was a pupil of the first class. Although never in the classes of the College taught by Derozio, he and the others to be afterwards enumerated continually associated with him during the intervals of school hours and in the gatherings at Derozio's house, as well as in the *Academic* and other associations, and in the conducting of the *Hesperus* and other papers. Krishna Mohun was the leader of the advanced Liberal party amongst the Hindoo youths of Calcutta, and he, though a Kulin Brahmin, sat down at Derozio's table with other advanced thinkers of his countrymen, and, in defiance of all caste rules, partook freely of beef, beer and other European luxuries. The Brahminical thread was thrown aside, and Pope and Dryden were held in more esteem than the sacred books of the Hindoos. At a meeting of the more bold and liberal-minded of Hindoo youths, held at the house of Krishna Mohun, from which he himself was absent—the date being 23rd August, 1831, four months before the death of Derozio—carried away by their impulsive feelings, and each inciting the other, after partaking of some roast beef, the members proceeded to toss the remainder into the compound of an adjoining house, occupied by a Brahmin held in high estimation for holiness, shouting at the same time sufficiently loud to reach the ears of the inmates:—"There is beef—there is beef." A personal encounter followed. The family of Krishna Mohun, indignantly appealed to by the orthodox Hindoo community, had no other alternative than to ex-communicate the arch offender. Compelled to flee from the home and friends of his boyhood, and suffering acute mental torments, he was attacked by fever, on recovery from which he entered on his course as journalist with renewed vigor and with more uncompromising decision. At this point of his history he came into immediate contact with Duff. On the 28th of August the *Enquirer* announced the baptism of Duff's first convert, Derozio's pupil, Mohesh Chunder Ghose. Duff's second convert was the Editor of the *Enquirer*, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, also the pupil-friend of Derozio; but neither of these converts joined, or in any way laboured for the Church of Scotland. If they were Duff's converts, they were so in the sense that, having gone the whole round of speculation, they were in a position, before they came in contact with Duff, to appreciate the arguments and the claims of Christianity; and that they were subject to other influences than that of the Scottish missionary is evidenced in the fact above stated, that they were admitted to the Episcopal Church of England, not to the Kirk of Scotland. These men were in truth, the first fruits of Derozio's influence and teaching, followed out to their legitimate conclusions, rather than the result

of any sustained effort on the part of Duff. The whole fabric of Hindoo prejudices had been broken down by Derozio, and a love for truth and a struggle for its attainment planted in its stead; and no idea was oftener embodied in words by Derozio in conversation and discussion, or burned into his pupil friends' memories more deeply, than this:—"Whatever comes before you in the semblance of truth, that enquire into with all diligence, out of the high respect due to truth." In defiance of the mandate of the managers of the Hindoo College, forbidding attendance at religions and other discussions, Derozio, in opposition to their bigotry and intolerance encouraged the students to attend the lectures of Duff; and, when remonstrated with by Mr. H. H. Wilson on the injury to his own position in the school, of thus directly setting at defiance the mandate of the managers, he declared it was no business of his to put a stop to free discussion and the search for truth.

Krishna Mohun taught for some time in the Hare School, has been professor in the now defunct Bishop's College and in the College of Fort William, is honorary doctor-in-law of the Calcutta University, honorary chaplain to the bishop of Calcutta, member of the Asiatic Society, and member of the Calcutta Municipality. He has published tracts, sermons, and articles in various forms. In one of his earliest, "*Persecuted*," he demonstrated that caste was an after-growth of Hindooism, having no existence in its earlier stages. His Dialogues on "Hindoo Philosophy" are long ago out of print, but will well repay perusal. His most recent work is *The Aryan Witness*, 1875, and two supplementary essays on the same topic, 1880, published by Thacker, Spink & Co. of Calcutta. For many years he has been an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, and he has laboured incessantly during a long life for the educational, intellectual and spiritual progress of his countrymen. One of his daughters is well known as Mrs. Wheeler, the Government Inspectress of the Zenana agencies.

Mohesh Chunder Ghose is spoken of by those who remember him as a "most spirited lad," and a great friend, though no relation, of Ramgopaul Ghose. During the last illness of Derozio his pupil-friends watched by his death-bed in turns. Mohesh Chunder Ghose was present when the Rev. Mr. Hill visited Derozio, and heard all that passed between them, unless what may have been said in a few whispered words; but though he himself afterwards became a Christian, and had no reason for withholding the truth, he declared there was no death-bed recantation, no document signed by Derozio declaring his belief in Christianity, but that Derozio died as he had lived, searching for truth. This testimony he maintained during the whole term of his short life. He was bap-

tised in the Old Church by the Rev. T. Dealtry, afterwards Bishop of Madras. In the same church, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, a short time afterwards, preached the funeral sermon of his old friend and associate. The audience was a crowded one, and amongst the worshippers was David Hare, who knew the preacher and the dead, as lads in the school of his own founding.

Ramgopaul Ghose was, on the recommendation of David Hare, appointed an assistant in a mercantile house. His family were looked on with jealousy by their relatives who lived at Bagati, and Peary Chand Mittra, in his life of David Hare, says that the sins of the son were visited on the father, who was popularly known as "beef-eating Gobin Ghose." He kept up the form of Hindooism, and in both his marriages took Hindoo wives. He became, first banian, and then partner in the firm of Kelsall, afterwards known as Kelsall, Ghose and Co. He afterwards conducted business on his own account, was an active member of the Municipality, and was noted for having headed the Hindoo community in resisting the attempt of the chairman of the Municipality to prevent Hindoos from burning their dead at Nimtollah Ghaut. For this service, a number of Hindoo gentlemen after his death raised funds to commemorate his memory, the original intention being to erect a building in his honour at the burning ghaut.

Gobin Chunder Bysack belonged to the weaver caste. He was not prepossessing in appearance, owing to a decided squint and other peculiarities, but he was a distinguished writer and speaker. While at school he wrote verses which Derozio frequently revised, and gave him hints regarding. He was a man of considerable reading and liberal attainments. In the pages of the *Reformer*, then owned by Prosono Coomar Tagore, a series of articles, attacking Christianity, appeared, written by Gobin. These were replied to by the Hon'ble Ross Donnely Mangles in the pages of the *Enquirer*. The distinguished scholar and antiquary, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, was partly educated at the school of Gobin Chunder Bysack.

Russick Krishna Mullick was one of the most distinguished students of the Hindoo College. He suffered cruel persecution from the members of his own family on account of his religious convictions. He was drugged, carried off from Calcutta and placed in irons. Afterwards he abandoned his father's house, took up his residence at Chorebagan, and for some time conducted the *Gyananeshan*. As a deputy collector, he was distinguished as a thoroughly reliable and meritorious officer. His son now occupies the important position of superintendent of roads for the Calcutta Municipality.

Amrita Lall Mitra was, in early life, officer in charge of Tosha-

khana, and discharged his duties with zeal and faithfulness. He laid down his office a poorer man than when he took it up. He was son-in-law of the late Sir Rajah Tejchunder Bahadoor, for a long time the esteemed head of the orthodox Hindoos of Calcutta, and one of the original founders of the Hindoo College. Amrita Lall Mitra never took part with the unorthodox party. Though keeping on friendly terms with his old fellow-students, he conformed to all the practices of orthodox Hindoos. He suffered from asthma all his life and enjoyed indifferent health, and latterly he retired to Benares where he recently died. His son is now a well-known pleader of the High Court of Calcutta.

Duckinarunjun Mookerjee was a scion of the Tagore family, a grandson in the female line of the elder brother of the late Prosono Coomar Tagore. Duckinarunjun was an ardent admirer of Derozio's accomplished sister Amelia, and often spoke of her with enthusiasm to the other student companions of Derozio. Rumours regarding his intentions towards Amelia—marriage in short—coming to the ears of his relatives, he was for a time withdrawn from her society. After the mutiny, on the recommendation of Duff and others, he obtained from Lord Canning the escheated estate of Man Singh, who had joined the rebels. Afterwards he was made a Rajah by the Foreign Office.

Huru Chunder Ghose was appointed moonsiff at Bancoorah. The salary was small, and the temptations to accept bribes were great and of daily occurrence. These he resisted and drew on his family for support. His name still lingers in the district where he laboured, as that of a good judge and a godly man. His son is now Registrar of Assurances in Calcutta.

Radhanath Sickdar was the best mathematician in the group of Derozio's friends, and was long employed in the Surveyor-General's office. Physically, he was the sturdiest of the lot; and held the theory that the food of a people determined their character and capacities. Beef-eaters, he declared, ruled the world. Though not a Christian he had renounced Hindooism altogether and lived after the English fashion. He believed that India would never become a great nation till the inhabitants made use of diet consisting extensively of beef, in which he largely indulged. He fell a martyr to his own theory, and died of a skin eruption induced by, it is said, beef-eating.

Ramtonoo Lahiree was distinguished less for strength of intellect than for the generous unselfishness of his nature.

Madubo Chunder Mullick was a quiet, unassuming man, went into business in a castor oil factory, and met with heavy losses.

The fierce religious excitement which marked Derozio's connexion with the Hindoo College, and which distinguished the closing

years of his life, has long since passed away. The Brahmo Somaj, now divided into three branches, the Adi Somaj, "presided over by the spirit and genius of the venerable Babu Debendra Nath Tagore," the Sadharan Brahmo Somaj, "a commonwealth based on constitutional and representative principles," and the "New Dispensation," the name assumed by those Brahmos who accept the teaching, leavened with the Bible and western culture, of Keshub Chunder Sen, son of Peary Mohun Sen, who died in 1848, dewan of the Calcutta Mint, a student of the Hindoo College, and a grandson of Ram Comul Sen, the most active member of the committee that decreed the dismissal of Derozio, has entered on the work of reformation and regeneration begun so long ago by Rajah Roy, who died in England neither Hindoo, Mohamadan, nor Christian.

The schools and colleges of Christian sects are substantially aiding in the great work of educating the people of India. Side by side with the Hare School, on the land given as a free gift by Hare for the old Hindoo College, there stands its lineal descendant the Presidency College, presided over by a staff of accomplished men, and furnished with a library and apparatus. Adjoining these are the University building and the Medical College Hospital, a group of educational agencies which realized to the full that for which the Indian Rajah and the old-fashioned English clock-maker and others of their day laboured so strenuously. The wheel of time turns round on its axis, and brings its own reparation. The very work which Derozio studied with the students of fifty years ago, and on which was based, in a large measure, the charge of "atheism and the subversion of all religion whatever" unjustly brought against him during his life, and repeated after his death, *The Life and Works of David Hume*, Historian and Sceptic, by no less a person than Professor Thomas Huxley, a name that has stunk for years in evangelical nostrils, is now one of the text-books set down for examination; and this has been effected with little more than a mild protest from a few well meaning men. The whole field of mental science is now ably taught by distinguished scholars, and successfully studied by the descendants of the very men who crowded to the lectures of Derozio, and who have now entered on the quiet inheritance of a curriculum, which in Derozio's day, called down on him the reviling and abuse of the Christian and Hindoo bigots of his day.

There are mural tablets, portraits and busts in the various educational institutions of Calcutta, commemorating the worth and work of men who have laboured for the advancement of the people of India. Amid them all, the visitor looks in

vain for any memorial of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the gifted Eurasian Teacher, Philosopher and Poet, who, during the short period of his connexion with the Hindoo College, did more to arouse, quicken and impel the thought of young India, than any man then living or since dead; who won the esteem and high loving reverence of his pupils, and who exercised an influence over them on the side of duty, truth and virtue which has never since been equalled. The generation that knew him, and those that have succeeded, have unconsciously allowed to be realized, in part at least, something of his own ideal as embodied in his own lines, *The Poet's Grave*,—although he sleeps not—

.....“Beside the ocean's foamy surge
On an untrodden solitary shore,
Where the wind sings an everlasting dirge,
And the wild wave in its tremendous roar
Sweeps o'er the sod !—There let his ashes lie
Cold and unmourned ; save when the sea-mew's cry
Is wafted on the gale as if 't were given
For him whose hand is cold, whose lyre is riven !
There all in silence let him sleep his sleep !”

Not there, but in a nameless grave, in a crowded city grave-yard,

“No dream shall flit into that slumber deep,
No wandering mortal thither once shall wend ;
There nothing over him but the heavens shall weep
There never pilgrim at his shrine shall bend,
But holy stars alone their nightly vigils keep.”

THOMAS EDWARDS.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV.—THE HOLY INQUISITION AT GOA

BY E. REHATSEK.

IN the Portuguese dominions there were four Inquisitions: three in Portugal itself, namely, in Lisbon, Coimbra, and Devora, and the fourth in India, at Goa, where it had been established in 1560.

The tribunals.

These were all sovereign tribunals from which no appeal could be made, and all their decisions were final. The jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Goa extended over all the Portuguese dominions beyond the Cape of Good Hope. Besides these four tribunals there was also a grand council of the Inquisition, presided over by the Inquisitor-General. This tribunal was the highest of all, and was informed of everything done by the others. Besides the honour, the great authority, and the salaries attached to the offices of all the Inquisitors, they enjoyed also two other sources of income: the first was the despatch of their menials to make bids in auctions when any rare or costly objects belonging to prisoners were being sold, on which occasions nobody would have been bold enough to bid against them; the second was the privilege of sending orders to the royal treasury on the goods confiscated from prisoners and kept there for the secret service of the Holy Office, which orders were always paid in cash without any one daring to ask for what purposes the sums were required.

All the Inquisitors were nominated by the king, and confirmed by the Pope, from whom they obtained their bulls, and whom alone they obeyed. In Goa the Grand Inquisitor was much more respected than the Archbishop, or even the Viceroy.* His authority extended over all the laity and the clergy, excepting only the Archbishop, his Vicar, who was usually a Bishop, and the Viceroy; but even these he could throw into prison after previously informing the Court of Portugal, and after having received secret orders to that effect from the Supreme Council of the Inquisition of Lisbon the *Conselho Supremo*.

* As the Archbishops of Goa 1635, and communicated to him in with their canons were on several a royal letter of the same month occasions accused of having disturbed the peace, the Viceroy was in and year, to cause the diocese to be governed by the Inquisitor (*Portugal eos estrangeiros* T. I. P. 69 Pov. such cases authorised, by an apostolical brief, dated the 10th March M.B. Brama. Lisbon, 1879.)

The house of the Inquisition, the *santa casa*, or, better, *santo officio*, was large and magnificent. The natives still remember it with awe and trembling, pointing out its ruins in old Goa as those of the "Great House" which they call *Orlem gur* in their own language. There were two Inquisitors in Goa: the first of them, the *Inquisidor mor* (contracted from *maior*), or Grand Inquisitor, was always a secular priest, and the second a monk of the order of St. Dominic. The Holy Office had also functionaries called *deputados* (deputies) *do santo officio*, who belonged to every kind of religious order, were present at the examinations and judgments of prisoners, but never came to the tribunal unless invited by the Inquisitors. There were others, the *calificadores do santo officio*, whose duty it was to examine books supposed to contain sentiments contrary to the faith, and to make their reports. There were also advocates for such prisoners as asked for them; they served, however, much less for defending the accused than for ascertaining their most secret feelings, and for deceiving them. Even if no grounds for suspecting the honesty of these advocates had existed, their services could not have been of much use to the accused, because they spoke to them always in the presence of their judges, or of persons appointed by the latter to give them an account of such conferences. The Inquisition had also other officers, called *familiars do santo officio*, who might be called the police-constables of the tribunal. Every body in Goa, even of the highest class, felt honoured by being employed on such a noble duty. The accused were arrested by these *familiars*, and usually one of the same condition of life with the accused was sent to make him prisoner. These officers had no salary, but considered themselves sufficiently rewarded by the honour they imagined themselves to enjoy by serving so holy a tribunal. All of them wore, as a badge of honour, a golden medal, on which the arms of the Holy Office were engraved. They made their arrests quite alone, and as soon as a man was informed that the Inquisitors wanted him, he at once followed the officer without any reply, because even the smallest resistance would not fail to enlist the services of every body to enforce the execution of the orders of the Holy Office. Besides these officers, there were also secretaries, real police-men called *Meirinhos*; an *Alcaide* or jailor, and guards to watch the prisoners and to carry them their food as well as other necessities.

As all the prisoners occupied separate cells, and it happened but seldom that two were put into one; four men were found more than sufficient to guard two hundred of them. The Inqui-

sition enforced complete and perpetual silence to such a degree that prisoners complaining, weeping, or even praying to God aloud, were in the greatest danger of being chastised with sticks by the guards, who came running at the least noise they heard and warned the transgressors to remain silent. If the second admonition was not obeyed, the watchmen opened the doors and struck the prisoners mercilessly, not only to chastise them, but to intimidate the others, all of whom heard the blows and their cries, in the deep silence prevalent everywhere. The *Alcaide* and the watchmen were always in the corridors, and slept there in the night.

The Inquisitor, accompanied by a secretary and an interpreter, visited the prisoners every two months, to ask them whether they stood in need of anything, whether they received their food at the stated hours, and whether they had any complaints to make against the officers with whom they came in contact. As soon as these three questions had been answered, the door was promptly shut again; and the visits were made only for the purpose of parading the kindness and justice of which this tribunal boasted; they were of no use, and procured no relief to the prisoners who proffered their complaints, and who were not treated more kindly than before. The rich prisoners fared no better than the poor. All were supported from the property of the accused, which the Holy Office very seldom failed to confiscate whether they were guilty or not.

When a person was arrested, he was first asked his name, profession, and condition of life; then he was exhorted to make an accurate declaration of all his property, and, to induce him to do so more easily, he was informed that if he were found innocent, everything he possessed would again be honestly restored to him, but that in the contrary case, even if he should be proved innocent, everything that might afterwards be discovered to belong to him which he had not avowed, would remain confiscated.

Formalities which were observed.

As nearly everybody was convinced of the holiness and integrity of the tribunal, persons whose conscience reproached them with no crime, had no doubt that their innocence would ultimately be found out and their liberty restored, and they never scrupled to reveal to the officials of the Inquisition even the most private affairs concerning themselves and their families.

As far as external appearances were concerned there was no tribunal in the world which meted out justice with more meekness and charity.

Although the Inquisition considered two or three witnesses sufficient to imprison a man, it never contented itself with less than

seven to condemn him. No matter how heinous his crime might have been, the Holy Office contented itself with the ecclesiastic punishment of excommunication and confiscation of property, and interceded for the criminal with the civil jurisdiction for his temporal punishments; if he was to suffer capital punishment, it must at least take place without effusion of blood—he was burnt at the stake. A European was always strangled before being committed to the flames; but a native was tied alive to the stake and thus burnt!

The clemency implied by the number of witnesses required for condemnation was nugatory, inasmuch as they were never confronted with the accused. All sorts of persons were accepted as those witnesses, even whose interest it was to see the accused condemned. The testimony of even the most notoriously unworthy witnesses could not be invalidated, and no body was allowed to depose against them. Supposed accomplices were made witnesses, and tortured * to confess crimes never committed, and, to save their lives, inculpated innocent men. Some prisoners could not be committed without accomplices, for instance, such as were accused of having assisted at the Jewish Sabbath, or having taken part in superstitious ceremonies. Hindu converts were often accused of magic and sorcery, because they were believed to be intent on discovering secret matters, and predicting future events by such means only. The origin of the term *cristam novo*, or new Christian, applied to native converts, had its origin in Europe. When

* There were three principal kinds of torture, namely, by the *rope*, by *water*, and by *fire*. In the first kind, which was called *corda*, the arms of the prisoner were tied behind with a rope, by which he was hoisted by a pulley to various heights, and suddenly dropped to the ground; this operation lasted for an hour or longer, according to his strength. When this torture did not produce the required confession, the accused was subjected to the trial by water, a great quantity of which he was compelled to swallow, in a recumbent position, on a kind of bed which had an iron bar beneath; if he was recalcitrant, this was withdrawn, so that he fell to the ground, and the process was repeated till he yelled with incredible pain. But the fire-torture was yet more horrible, as the soles of

the poor wretch's feet were exposed to the flames, till he confessed whatever was desired.

When a prisoner was condemned to be tortured, the guards led him into a subterranean apartment, the *casa dos tormentos*, so arranged that his lamentations could not be heard. By the scanty light entering through an aperture from above, the accused could discern the Inquisitors, who exhorted him to confess the crime imputed to him, and a spectre-like masked figure to apply the torture, in case of refusal. The pains inflicted were so excruciating and weakening, that it became sometimes necessary to call in the doctor of the Inquisition in order to consult him whether the prisoner could endure yet further tortures without expiring under them.

the Jews were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella, many took refuge in Portugal, where they were received on condition of embracing Christianity, which they did, and obtained the sobriquet above named; this distinction survived and was carried even to Goa, where persons whose great-grandfathers had already been Christians, and who had intermarried with old Christians, or *cristams velhos*, still bore this stigma, and were alluded to as being partly new Christians, *tem parte de cristam novo*. Thus even in the capital of Portuguese India two factions often furnished the Holy Inquisition with victims, by incriminating each other. Thus it happened that not seldom a so-called new Christian was arrested by the Holy Inquisition, accused not only by seven, but by seventy-seven witnesses, if required, and brought before his judges. Being convinced of his own innocence, he made a full declaration of his property on the understanding that it would soon again be restored to him, but he was scarcely shut up in prison, than it was all sold by auction and lost to him for ever.

Let us now follow the career of this unfortunate man after he has been imprisoned:—Several months having been allowed to elapse before he was brought to what was called the audience, where he was asked why he had been cast into prison, he naturally replied that he did not know, and was exhorted seriously to consider the matter and voluntarily to reveal the cause, because he could only thus hope to recover his liberty speedily. Then he was sent back to his dungeon. He was from time to time again brought before the audience, but no other reply could be got out of him. Meanwhile the time of the *Auto da fé*, or Act of Faith, was approaching, the Promoter made his appearance, and declared to him that he was accused by a good many witnesses, of having judaized, that is to say, of having observed the ceremonies of the Law of Moses, such as not eating pork, of having kept solemnly the Sabbath-day, partaken of the Paschal lamb, and the like. He was then adjured “by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ” to confess his crimes of his own accord, as the only means of saving his life, and was told that the Holy Office would use all possible means to preserve it. The innocent man persisted in excusing himself, whereon he was condemned, as *convicto negativo* (namely, as a criminal who had been found guilty without his own confession), to be delivered to the secular power in order to undergo punishment according to Law; that is to say, to be burned.

For all that, however, the man was still exhorted to accuse himself, and told that, if he did so on the eve of the *Act of Faith*, he might yet save his life. If, however, he still obstinately persisted in asserting his innocence, in spite of all the solicitations made to him to accuse himself, his sentence of death was

announced to him on the Friday immediately preceding the Sunday on which the *Act of Faith* was to take place. This announcement was made in the presence of a constable of the secular power, who threw a rope over the hands of the condemned man, as a mark that he took possession of his person, and that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction had surrendered him. At the same time also a confessor entered, who no more left the condemned man either by day or by night, and did not fail incessantly to press him to confess the crimes he was accused of, to save his life. Now the unfortunate man was in a dilemma; for, if he continued to deny his guilt till Sunday, he was cruelly executed on that day and died, and, if he accused himself, he was branded for life as infamous and miserable. If the entreaties of his confessor and the love of life induced him to confess crimes he had never committed, he could demand an audience, which was always granted to him immediately. Having been brought into the presence of his judges, he was obliged first of all to declare his guilt, and then to crave mercy for his crimes as well as for his obstinacy in not having avowed them sooner; the depositions of the witnesses being moreover communicated to him, he had nothing more to do than to repeat what he had already heard.

After having satisfied all the demands of the Inquisitors just mentioned, he imagined perhaps that he would be left alone, but he was mistaken, because they addressed him nearly as follows:—“If you have observed the Law of Moses, if you have been in Sabbath-day assemblies, and if your accusers were present in them, as is very probable, you must convince us of the sincerity of your repentance, by naming not only those who have accused you, but all who have been with you in those assemblies.” This new Christian, greatly frightened and perplexed what to do, to save himself from the fire, being unable to name persons unknown to him who might have accused him, perforce mentioned the names of his own acquaintances, friends or relatives, or any new Christians whom he might have associated with, the more so as he was sure that old Christians were never suspected of Judaism, and thus he brought misery upon a number of men who were thrown into prison. We have consulted the accounts of the Inquisition given in the *Quadro Historico de Goa*, in the *Voyages of Pyrard*, and in some other works to be alluded to in the course of this article, all of which substantially agree with this description of its proceedings.

The Inquisition had its officials not only in Goa but in every town of India subject to the sway of Portugal. They were called commissaries, and always furnished the Holy Office with reports, on which per-

The case of a Frenchman.

sons were made prisoners and conveyed to Goa without reference to their nationality, as happened in the case of Mr. Dellon* who was a Frenchman. He was a traveller and practised medicine at Daman, where he lived for some time. Although not an irreligious man, he incurred the displeasure of the Holy Office of Goa, where he was carried a prisoner and kept in its dungeons, as will be briefly narrated, omitting also the exacerbating expressions, but too natural and excusable in a man who had been shamefully and cruelly ill-treated. His first mistake appears to have been to quote the text:—"Except a man be born of Water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God (John III, 5)": in a conversation on the various kinds of baptism with a Dominican monk, who seems forthwith to have denounced him to a commissary of the Holy Office. The second time he scandalised the Portuguese, was when an alms-box was being carried about. On such occasions it was optional to give money, or not, but necessary to kiss the image of the Blessed Virgin, or of the Saint painted on the box, which all the people did; but he, being only 24 years old, and of an independent character, refused, wherefore he was at once considered to be a despiser of images, and accordingly suspected of heresy.

There were yet two more reasons worth mentioning which brought on the incarceration of Mr. Dellon, but would, like those already alluded to, in our times not be considered, even by the most bigoted priests, sufficiently weighty to declare a man a heretic:—A young sick Portuguese gentleman of Daman kept a little ivory figure of the Holy Virgin in his bed and kissed it constantly; as he was to be bled, Mr. Dellon wished him to put away the figure, lest the blood might spurt against it; this he refused to do, saying that Frenchmen were heretics, because they refused to worship images. Mr. Dellon happened, in his own lodgings, to have a crucifix over his bed, which being perceived by one of his neighbours, he admonished him that in case he

* The *Relation de l'Inquisition de de Goa*, published anonymously by Dellon, used by us, is the oldest edition, printed in Holland in 1688 with engravings, and now very scarce. One was printed in Cologne in 1711, and another before it in 1709. From *Portugal e os estrangeiros*, by Manoel Bernardes Branco, Lisboa 1879, Tomo I. P. 290, we learn that scarcely three copies of the work exist at present in Portugal; but we have seen the Portuguese translation of

it made by Miguel Vicente d'Abreu, and printed in Goa in 1866; hence we may see how greatly the times have changed since 1769, when the Board of Censors issued an Edict prohibiting the reading of Dellon's work. Afterwards it appeared however also in English, with an appendix containing an account of the Escape of Archibald Bower (one of the Inquisitors) from the Inquisition of Macerata in Italy. London, 1812.

should sometimes bring a woman and keep her, to cover up the crucifix. Hereon Mr. Dellon asked his neighbour how he could believe that such a proceeding could conceal anything from the eyes of God, and whether he was of the opinion of those debauched women of Daman, who thought, that when they had locked up their rosaries and rediquaries, they might abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses with impunity? This neighbour immediately ran to the commissary and made his deposition, it being the duty of every person living in a country subject to the jurisdiction of the *Holy Office*, on pain of the major-excommunication reserved for the Inquisitor, to declare within the time of thirty days everything he might have seen done, or heard spoken concerning such matters as the tribunal took cognizance of.

The objections of Mr. Dellon to wear a rosary constantly on his neck contributed as much to his being declared a heretic, as his refusal to kiss the images of Saints. One day the conversation turned upon the fallibility of human justice, but Mr. Dellon was told that if no real justice could be had in France, the case was different here, as a tribunal existed in this country the decisions of which were not less infallible than those of Jesus Christ. He understood at once that the Inquisitors were meant, and, on asking whether they were less men, and less subject to human frailties, than secular judges, he received the categorical answer, that the Holy Ghost always presided over the decisions of their sacred Tribunal.

Having, in spite of the secrecy on oath exacted by the officials of the Holy Tribunal from all who approach them, been apprised that depositions had been made against him, Mr. Dellon considered it best at once to go to the commissary himself and to make a confession to him. He narrated openly to the Reverend Father all that had taken place, and obtained from him the assurance, that, although many persons had been scandalised by his behaviour, he was persuaded that his intention was not bad, and that he had not uttered a word which might be called criminal; and recommended him to accommodate himself a little more to the customs and manners of the people.

The above interview with the commissary, and his affability, comforted Mr. Dellon considerably; nevertheless, the Reverend Father shortly afterwards received an order from the Inquisitors to arrest him, which was executed at once on the evening of the 24th August 1673, and he languished in a filthy prison till the last day of the month of December, when, along with a number of other unfortunate men, he was embarked and sent to Goa. The vessel arrived the next day in Bassein, but remained there till the

7th of January, and arrived on the 14th at its destination. The prisoners remained two days in the horribly dirty prison of the Archbishop, called *Aljuvar*, and were on the 16th taken to the *Santa Casa*, which was very clean.

Chained as he was, Mr. Dellon had much difficulty in reaching the great hall of the Inquisition, where blacksmiths knocked off the irons from the limbs of the prisoners, who were then admitted to the "Audience." The apartment which Mr. Dellon now entered bore the name of *Mesa do Santo Officio*, or table of the Holy Office. It was tapestried with several bands of taffetas, of blue and yellow hue; at the extremity stood a crucifix in relief, which was so large that it nearly touched the ceiling.* In the centre of the room was a great dais with a table, about 15 feet long and 4 broad, surrounded on all sides by arm-chairs. At one end of the table, near the crucifix, the secretary was seated, and at the other, opposite to him, stood Mr. Dellon, whilst to his right the Grand Inquisitor of India, *Francisco Delgado Ematos*, a secular priest, aged about 40, was seated in an arm-chair; he was alone, because the second of the two Inquisitors who were usually in Goa, always a monk of the order of St. Dominic, had shortly before left for Portugal, and no other had yet been nominated to his place.

As soon as Mr. Dellon had entered this apartment, he threw himself at the feet of his judge, imagining that he could touch him best by assuming a supplicating posture; but he was at once sternly ordered to rise. Now the judge asked him his name, his profession, and whether he knew why he had been arrested; adding that his only means of promptly recovering his liberty would be, to make his declaration as speedily as possible. He replied, that he believed he knew the cause of his imprisonment and would at once accuse himself; whereon the judge, without being in the least moved by his tears and entreaties, informed him that he had just now more important business on hand, that there need be no hurry at all, and that he would be called when the proper time came, at the same time, taking up a little silver-bell to call the *Alcaide*, or jailor of the Holy Office, who entered forthwith. The jailor now led the prisoner through a long corridor, and was immediately followed by the secretary. Here Mr. Dellon was searched and everything taken away from him, even to his buttons. A detailed inventory of all his property and of everything contained in his trunk having been made, he was assured that all would again be restored to him. The

* This crucifix, which is life-like Goa, and is shown with other relics and has glass-eyes, still exists in of the *Holy Office*.

inventory being finished, the prisoner was shut up in a cell 10 feet long and 4 broad, where some supper was brought to him in the evening. The next morning, when his breakfast was brought, Mr. Dellon asked for his books and his combs, but was informed that the former were never given to any body, not even the breviary to priests, and that there was not the least necessity for the latter, as his hair had already been cut, according to the rules observed towards all prisoners, whether male or female, of high or of low estate.

The food of the native prisoners of the Inquisition consisted in the morning only of *conji*, i.e. thick rice-water, and for the other two meals always of fish and rice; but the Europeans received for their meals baker's bread, fried fish, fruits, and a sausage on Sundays and Thursdays; whilst on other days they received a kind of stew with rice; sometimes they had also eggs. Their only beverage was, however, water, and meat was never given them for supper. The prisoner had a water-pot, and a blanket, but no other bedding or bedstead. Great care was taken to let a prisoner have medical aid when sick, and a confessor in case of dangerous illness; but the Eucharist was never administered to any prisoner, and in that Sacred House no sermon was ever preached, or the mass celebrated. Those who died in the prisons were buried in the house without any ceremony; and if they happened, according to the notion of this tribunal, to be considered worthy of death, the flesh was stripped off their bodies, and the bones were preserved till the next *Act of Faith* took place, when they were burnt according to the judicial sentence.

As Mr. Dellon had been told that, if he had any communications to make, he could do so at the time his meals were brought, or by gently knocking at his own door to call the watchmen or the *Alcaide*, as not one of them was allowed to converse alone with a prisoner, but in the presence of several witnesses, he importuned them greatly to be conducted to his judges, but his supplications were ineffectual till the last day of January 1674, when he obtained the favour of an Audience.

His first, second and third Audience.

He was led out from his cell with bare feet, legs and head, to the Audience chamber, where he found the Inquisitor and the secretary, as on his arrival from Daman. At the end of the table there was a Missal, upon which he had to place his hand, and to swear that he would speak the truth, and keep secret whatever might take place. Being asked whether he desired to make a declaration, he replied that he was anxious to do so, and repeated his opinions on baptism and the worship of images, already alluded to above. The Inquisitor asked whether he had anything

more to reveal, but, on being told that he could recollect nothing else than what he had said, the Inquisitor, instead of restoring him his liberty, as he had been induced to expect, said that he had done very well to accuse himself voluntarily, and exhorted him on the part of our Lord Jesus Christ to expect as soon as possible the rest of his informations so as to become the recipient of that kindness and mercy which this tribunal manifested towards all those who sincerely repented of their crimes by a true and voluntarily confession.

The prisoner's declaration, and the Inquisitor's exhortation having been written down, read out aloud, and signed by Mr. Dellon, the Inquisitor rang his little bell for the *Alcaide*, and he was led back to his cell.

He was brought the second time before his judge on the 15th February, without his request, and therefore believed that his deliverance was at hand. On this occasion, the same questions were asked as before, but the prisoner could not, in spite of the pressure put upon him to confess, be induced to inculcate himself. Then the Inquisitor examined him about the place of his birth, the priest who had baptised him as an infant, &c., and made him at last kneel down, make the sign of the cross, recite the Lord's Prayer, the Ave Maria, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church and the *Salve Regina*. Lastly, he exhorted him, as on the first occasion, by the bowels of mercy of Jesus Christ, to make his confession. All this having been written down, read to the prisoner and signed by him, as on the former occasion, he was led back to his cell.

All who have any idea of solitary confinement, and the depressing effects of perpetual silence, coupled with the absence of books or any kind of pastime, may readily conceive the state of mind a young man of an ardent and sociable temperament must have fallen into under the treatment above described. Accordingly he determined to starve himself. Had he left his victuals untouched, the guards would have beaten him and forced him to consume them; therefore, he threw most of them away, and fell very quickly into a great state of weakness; his nights were sleepless; he wept, groaned and prayed. At last he imagined that he had by the will of the Almighty fallen under these severe trials, which might perhaps be intended to convert him. He rehearsed everything he had said or done during his sojourn at Daman; he also remembered that he had there uttered sentiments concerning the integrity of the Inquisition, and applied for an Audience, which was, however, not granted to him till the 16th March.

The sanguine disposition of the prisoner must have greatly

contributed to his misery ; he always hoped to be set free, and was always disappointed. This time he fared no better than before. He declared everything he had to say concerning the Inquisition, but was at once told, that this was not the thing wanted. He was instantly sent back to his prison, and his deposition was not even considered worth writing.

Now despair took hold of the prisoner's mind, and he nearly lost his senses. He wished to destroy his own life, and hoped that

He attempts to commit
suicide.

God would pardon such an act if it were committed by the intervention of another individual. For this purpose he feigned sickness, whereon a Hindu physician was sent to him who had no difficulty in finding his pulse very high and considering it a symptom of fever. This doctor ordered bleeding which was repeated as many as five times in five consecutive days. As the intention of the doctor was quite different from that of the patient, the one intending to save and the other to destroy life, the prisoner untied the bandage as soon as the door had been shut, and allowed the blood to run freely, which, combined with nearly total abstinence from all nourishment, brought on extreme weakness.

The *Alcaide* took notice of the state Mr. Dellon was in, and at once informed the Inquisitor, who sent him a monk of the order of St. Francis to hear his confession. The admonitions of this good Padre comforted the prisoner so much, that he resolved to contribute as much as was in his power to the recovery of his own health. Mr. Dellon also allowed his confessor secretly to inform the Inquisitor of all that had taken place, whereon all the means necessary for the recovery of the prisoner's strength, which he had lost with his blood, were promptly taken, and in order to soothe the melancholy by which he was oppressed, another prisoner, a native, who had been accused of magic, was shut up with him, who remained five months, but was then taken away, because it was considered that Mr. Dellon had recovered his strength. Being, however, suddenly deprived of the solace of his companion, he fell back into his former state of despair.

The absence of his companion now so exasperated the prisoner that he furiously struck his own breast, scratched his face, and cast about in his mind for a plan to make another attempt on his life. He considered that he could probably not successfully again feign sickness, and that even if he did, precautions would be taken to hinder him from losing too much blood in case of venesection. In this desperate frame of mind it struck him that he had, in spite of the diligent examination which had been made of his person, saved a few gold coins, sewn in a ribbon attached

to his leg in the form of a garter. He now took one of these gold coins (which were probably rather like those we still see on the necklaces of women and children) and breaking it in two, sharpened it a long time on an earthen pot, and so well that he used it as a lancet for opening the arteries of the arm. For this purpose he took all the necessary precautions and pushed it in as deeply as possible, but, in spite of all the care he had taken, he opened only the upper veins; as he had, however, opened veins on both arms and allowed the blood to flow freely, he soon fainted. When the guards opened the cell, they were not a little astonished to find the prisoner in a state of insensibility, and the cell flooded with his blood. Had the *Alcaide* not arrived sooner than usual, he would have found the prisoner dead; but his arms were at once bandaged, and restoratives applied, and the swoon passed away. The Inquisitor having been informed of what had taken place, ordered the prisoner forthwith to be brought to the "Audience." Four men took him up, carried him to the hall and were ordered to lay him down on his back on the floor. Now the Inquisitor addressed various reproaches to Mr. Dellon, and ordered him to be taken back, and provided with handcuffs to hinder him from tearing off the bandages with which his arms had been tied. Not only were these orders promptly obeyed, but, in addition to the chains of the hands, a collar fastened by a padlock was also put on the prisoner's neck, so that he could no longer move his arms. This proceeding, however, only irritated him the more. He knocked his head against the floor and against the wall, so that the bandages would at last have been loosened and he must have died; he was, however, strongly guarded, and, as severity appeared now to be out of season, gentleness was resorted to. All his irons were taken off and hopes of deliverance were deceitfully held out to him. He was placed in another cell, and a native, also a prisoner, was given him for a companion, who was to be answerable for him, but who proved less tractable than the first. The prisoner consoled himself and thought that, after all, his case was much better than that of many others who had actually committed suicide in the prisons of the *Holy Office*, and had thereby irreparably incurred the wrath of God. When his companion had been with him about two months, and he was considered to be somewhat more tranquil, the companion was taken away, although the prisoner was hardly strong enough to get up from his couch, and to go to the door to receive his meals when they were brought.

Now eighteen months had elapsed since the prisoner had been in the dungeon of the Inquisition, and, as he was again in a state to reply to his judges, he was led for the fourth time to the Audience.

His fourth audience, he is condemned to be burnt.

Being asked whether he had at last resolved to declare what was expected from him, he replied that he recollected nothing more than what he had already said. Hereon the Promoter made his appearance with a book containing the depositions made against the prisoner, which were no others than those made by the prisoner himself and already known to us. This time, however, the prisoner, who had accused himself on former occasions (because he was told that he could only in that way recover his liberty soon) wished to show that his opinions were not as criminal as the Inquisitors supposed; that he had never entertained the idea of combating the doctrines of the Church, and that he had desired only to obtain an explanation of the above quoted passage (John. III. 5) *nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei*, which appeared to him to be very formal. The Grand Inquisitor seemed to be greatly surprised at this passage, had the New Testament brought, searched for the passage and read it, but did not explain it to the prisoner.

As to the adoration of images, the prisoner averred that he had stated nothing which he had not drawn from the Holy Council of Trent, and cited to the Inquisitor the following passage from the 25th Session:—*De invocatione Sanctorum et sacris imaginibus. Imagines Christi, Deiparae Virginis, et aliorum Sanctorum retinendas, iisque debitum honorem et veneratorem impertiendam, ita ut per imagines coram quibus procumbimus, Christum adoremus et Sanctos, quorum illae similitudinem gerunt, veneremur.* This quotation surprised the judge yet more than the first, and, having searched for it in the Council of Trent, he shut the book without explaining the passage.

After reading the depositions, the Promoter said, that, besides what the prisoner had himself avowed, he was always accused and had been sufficiently convicted of having spoken disdainfully of the Inquisition and its ministers, of having uttered sentiments but little respectful even regarding the Sovereign Pontiff and against his authority. The Promoter further concluded that the obstinacy manifested by the prisoner, in disregarding so many delays and charitable admonitions addressed to him, was a convincing proof of his having entertained very pernicious designs, and that his intention had been to teach and to foment heresy; that he had therefore incurred the penalty of the major excommunication, that his goods would be confiscated for the benefit of the king, and he himself delivered to the secular arm, to be punished according to the rigour of the law, that is to say, to be burnt.

Terrible as this judgment appeared to Mr. Dellon, he considered it preferable to the state of misery in which he was, and

from which he was to be released by death. He had always been a good Catholic, and obedient son of the Church, and, although he recollected having spoken somewhat too freely concerning the Holy Tribunal, he had no remembrance on what grounds the accusations framed against him were based regarding his supposed disrespect for the Pope. Accordingly he promised to consider this matter if some details were furnished him. The Inquisitor here interrupted him, saying that time would be granted him to think on the subject concerning the Sovereign Pontiff; but he admired his impudence in what he asserted that he had already confessed concerning the Inquisition, for if he had really made his declaration about this article as he pretended to have done, he would not have remained so long a time in prison. Fortunately for Mr. Dellon, he was removed to his cell as soon as he had signed his deposition, for he was so exasperated by the outrageous assertion of the Inquisitor, that he avers he could scarcely restrain himself from assaulting him, although he had neither the strength nor the opportunity.

The prisoner was yet several times more brought to the
The Auto da fé. "Audience," pressed to confess his delinquency against the Pope, and to acknowledge that in the points about baptism and the adoration of Saints, to which he had pleaded guilty, his intention had been to defend heresy. This, however, he would never admit, and asserted to be false.

During the months of November and December he heard every morning the cries of persons put under torture to elicit confessions. It was so cruel that several persons of both sexes remained cripples for life, and among these also his first companion in prison, who, as already mentioned, had been accused of magic.

He had, before his confinement in the prisons of the *Holy Office*, been informed that the *Auto da fé* was usually held on the first Sunday of Advent, because on that occasion the passage of the Gospel is read in Church where the Last Judgment is mentioned, of which the Inquisitors represented the *Auto da fé* to be a living and natural representation. This supposition proved to be false, because the first and even the second Sunday of Advent elapsed without any preparations being made for the ceremony. On Saturday, however, the 11th January 1676, Mr. Dellon wished, according to the usual custom, to give his linen to the officials to be washed, but they refused to accept it. Then the idea dawned upon him that perhaps the *Auto da fé* would take place next day, and that he was not mistaken this time will appear from what follows.

When his supper was brought, he would not receive it, and,

contrary to the usual custom, was not pressed to do so. He lay down and had just begun to slumber, when he was awakened by the noise of the guards drawing the bolts of his cell and entering it with lights. The *Alcaide* presented him with garments, ordering him to put them on, and to be ready to come out when summoned. When the guards retired, a violent trembling seized the whole person of Mr. Dellon, who was unable to look at the clothes till an hour afterwards, when he was again composed and had recommended himself to the mercy of God before a crucifix which he had painted on the wall. On examining the garments, he found them to be a jacket and a pair of trowsers, striped black and white; but he had not long to wait after putting on his new clothes, because the same persons who had entered the cell shortly before midnight, again made their appearance at two o'clock in the morning in the cell, whence they took him to a long corridor. There he found a good many of his companions in misery arranged against the wall, where he also took up his position and was followed by others. The whole number consisted of about two hundred persons, among whom there were only twelve white men, who could scarcely be distinguished from the blacks, as all were dressed alike, and preserved the deepest silence, and, had it not been for the movement of their eyes, which was alone permitted them, all might easily have been mistaken for statues. The few lamps produced but a lugubrious effect, making the whole spectacle appear like the celebration of a funeral. In an adjacent dormitory there were other prisoners, and other persons, dressed in black robes, who now and then walked about a little; these were, as Mr. Dellon learned a few hours afterwards, the persons condemned to be burnt, and those who walked about were their confessors.

Not being acquainted with the formalities of the *Holy Office*, and having lost his anxiety to be rid of life, he now feared, in spite of his former wish to die, that he might be one of those who had been destined to burn at the stake. He re-assured himself, however, somewhat by the circumstance that no dress had been given him different from that of the other prisoners, and that there was no likelihood of so large a number of persons apparelled like himself being burnt. After a while, a long yellow wax-candle was put into the hand of each of the prisoners ranged against the wall, and a garment like a *dalmatica* or great scapulary, with a red St. Andrew's Cross painted on it before and behind, was put on every one of them. This scapulary with the St. Andrew's Cross was called *Sambenito*, and was a sign that the wearer of it, whether a Jew, a Muhamedan, a sorcerer, or a heretic who had formerly been a Catholic, had committed

crimes against the Faith of Jesus Christ; and Mr. Dellon, who stoutly maintained that he had always professed the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Faith, having likewise been adorned with this scapulary, his fears increased again.

Those who were considered convicted, but nevertheless persisted in denying the acts they were accused of, or those who relapsed into their errors, were adorned with another kind of scapulary, named *Samarra*, on which the head of the prisoner who wore it was painted among flames with demons all round, and the crimes he was guilty of, written beneath the portrait.

A very small circumstance may sometimes become a great solace. This happened in the case of Mr. Dellon. At 4. A. M. the guards distributed figs and bread among the prisoners who wished for some; but he refused to accept any. The guard, however, approached him and told him to take the bread, and so put it into his pocket, for he would surely feel hungry after returning. These words dissipated all his fears.

At last, after long expectation, the day broke at 5 A. M., and the various expressions of shame, grief or fear, by which the prisoners were agitated, became visible on their countenances. As the sun rose, the great bell of the Cathedral was tolled to inform the inhabitants of Goa that the august ceremony of the *Auto da fé*, the triumph of the *Holy Office*, was to take place.*

Before marching out, the prisoners passed through a hall filled with the inhabitants of Goa, and each of them took one of these gentlemen for a godfather. It was the duty of these godfathers to walk by the side of the prisoners, to be responsible for them, and to represent them or protect them after the termination of the festival, and the gentlemen of the Inquisition pretended to confer a great honour upon them by selecting them for this function.

* In the first *Auto da fé* held, at Goa in 1650, four persons were condemned to be burnt. In 1653, the second *Auto da fé* took place, in which 18 unhappy wretches were accused of the crime of heresy: from the year 1666, however, till the end of 1679, the Inquisition of Goa celebrated eight *Autos da fé* among which that of Mr. Dellon was also certainly included. In these the number of persons sentenced to various punishments amounted to 1,208. On the 22nd November 1711, another *Auto da fé* took place in which 41 persons participated. Lastly, on the 30th December 1736 a

whole family of Rasaim in Salcete was burnt and the house razed to the ground. Mr. Nery Xavier discovered, in 1840, a stone inscription on the spot, which commemorates the event, and in 1865 Mr. A. J. Quadros had still seen it, but in a broken condition (See pp. 5 and 6 of M. V. D'Abreu's Portuguese translation of Dellon's narrative, with the addition of various documents and notes. Nova Goa, 1866). From the year 1600 to 1773, seventy *Autos da fé* were held in Goa in which 4,046 persons were condemned. (See p. 173, note a of *Bosquejo historico de Goa*, 1858.)

Now the procession began to march with the Dominican monks at its head. They enjoyed the privilege of leading the procession, because St. Dominic, their founder, had also established the Inquisition. They were preceded, however, by the banner of the *Holy Office*, adorned with the portrait of the saint just named, bearing in his right hand a sword and in his left an olive branch, with the inscription *Justicia et Misericordia* above. Then came the prisoners with their lighted candles, led by their godfathers. The prisoners were all bare-footed as well as bare-headed, and the small gravel of the streets of Goa made the feet of Mr. Dellon bleed.

The crowds of people who had been invited from all parts of the country to witness this spectacle and flocked to behold it, were immense; the procession, having paraded through the principal streets of Goa, arrived at last at the Church of St. Francis, which had on this occasion been prepared for the celebration of the *Auto da fé*. The great altar had been draped in black, and had six tapers of large size burning in silver candelabra. On the two sides of the altar were two thrones, the one to right for the Inquisitor and his councillors, that to the left for the Viceroy and his court. In the body of the church there were benches for the prisoners, not excepting those who were already dead, because the jurisdiction of the Inquisition extended also over the latter, whom it condemned and whose property it confiscated, wherefore their bones were also brought in boxes, covered with painted devils and flames, and sentence was pronounced upon them.

After all the unfortunate prisoners had entered in their funeral attire and taken the places assigned to them, the grand crucifix was placed upon the altar between the six candlesticks. Then the Provincial of the Augustine monks ascended the pulpit and preached a sermon, in which he compared the Inquisition with the Ark of Noah, dwelling, however, on the point that after the deluge all the animals which came out from the ark retained the same nature with which they had entered, whereas it was the admirable property of the Inquisition to change those who had been confined in the dungeons, and had entered them cruel like wolves and proud like lions, into gentle lambs when they were liberated. When this sermon was finished, the prisoners were brought forth one by one and their sentence read out to them. The turn of Mr. Dellon also came, and, having been accused of three crimes, namely, of having maintained the invalidity of the baptism *Flaminis*, of having denied the adoration of images and having blasphemed by calling one of them, a crucifix, only a piece of ivory; lastly of having spoken disre-

spectfully of the Inquisition and its ministers, he was declared to be excommunicated, his goods confiscated for the benefit of the king, and he was exiled from India, and condemned to serve in the galleys of Portugal five years. When the sentences of all the prisoners had been read out to them, the Inquisitor, accompanied by about a score of priests, went to the centre of the church, and absolved the prisoners from the excommunication which they had incurred. This he did by reciting a prayer, whereon the priests struck one blow upon the dress of each prisoner, who then returned to his seat.

This ceremony being finished, and the Inquisitor having again taken his seat, the unfortunate persons who
Persons condemned
to be burnt.were to be burnt by the Holy Inquisition were brought forward, one by one. These consisted of a man, a woman, and the effigies of four deceased men, with the boxes in which their bones were enclosed. The man and the woman were a Hindu and a Christian, accused of magic, and condemned as having relapsed, but in reality they were as little sorcerers as those who had condemned them. Of the four statues, just mentioned two also represented two men considered convicted of witchcraft, whilst the other two were of two new Christians who were said to have judaized, one of them having died in the prisons of the Holy Office, and the other in his own house, and been buried long ago in his parish, but having after his death been accused of Judaism, and left considerable property, his bones were exhumed to be burned in the "Act of Faith." The sentences read out to these unfortunate persons all terminated with the following words:—"The *Holy Office* being unable to pardon them on account of their relapse or impenitence, and being indispensably compelled to punish them according to the rigour of the laws, hereby delivered them, although with regret, to the secular arm and justice, which it, however, anxiously requested to use clemency and mercy towards these wretched persons, so that if it inflicted capital punishment upon them, it should at least take place without effusion of blood." After these words had been pronounced, the prisoners were surrendered to the civil authorities, and led to the river-bank, where the Viceroy and his court had assembled, and the piles of wood upon which the prisoners were to be burnt had been prepared. The execution took place, but Mr. Dellon, being fatigued and exhausted, was but too glad to return to his cell and to take rest, so that his description of the terrible spectacle of which he gives also an engraving, with the victims enveloped by flames, is not that of an eye-witness. As the reader has probably already supped on horrors enough, we shall spare him any further details about the

Auto da fé and conclude our narrative of the case of Mr. Dellon by stating that he was actually taken to Portugal and would have served his five years of the sentence in the prison of Lisbon, had not a physician, a Frenchman like himself, who enjoyed some influence at court, interceded for him. When he was liberated, he enquired with all possible diligence for a ship sailing to France, in order to withdraw himself as soon as he could from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, and, embarking forthwith, he escaped to his own country where that Holy Tribunal had no power.

After having brought the above account thus far according to the foreign source at our disposal, we now turn to the indigenous documents, contained in the *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasc. 6. *Supplementos*, published at Goa in 1876, to the numbers and pages of which we shall make references within parenthesis, so as to enable our readers to verify every statement we make, in case they should entertain doubts. In these documents references to the Inquisition also occur, and *Autos da fé* are alluded to a few times, but not described. In one of them, celebrated on the 22nd November 1711 at Goa, a number of persons from the districts of Bardez and Salcete were sentenced.

Subjects of *Autos da fé*.

In the decree (No. 75, p. 227) published to this effect by Dom Rodrigo da Costa, Viceroy and Captain-General of India, the names of all these men are mentioned, which, although they are Portuguese, have generally also affixed that of the caste to which the culprits belonged. They were mostly Brahmans, with only a few Shudras and one Naik, so that they must have been native Christians. All their goods were confiscated by the State for crimes they had committed against the Catholic faith, which, however, are not specified.

According to the testimony of Padre Jose Pinheiro, of the Society of Jesus, given in 1715 (p. 63), most of the persons condemned in the *Autos da fé* were natives of Bardez, nearly every village of the district being infested by apostacies from the Faith, which was the case neither in Goa, nor Salcete, nor in the districts of Piedade and Chorao. The reason is ascribed to the frequent communication of the inhabitants of Bardez with the people of the mainland, where they conversed often with gentile priests (*Botos*) or owners of pagodas. Experience had proved that apostacies increased in proportion to the nearness of the farms to the mainland. The same Father states it as a fact, likewise established by experience, that the very procession in which converts were paraded with much festivity and dancing when they were baptized, furnished likewise the subjects for the processions of the *Autos da fé*.

The king having been informed by the Provincial and the Fathers of the order of St. Dominic, members of the Inquisition,

Privileges of the Inquisitors
and of converts.

that his officers sometimes doubted whether they were entitled to the exercise of the privileges granted them by the Supreme Pontiffs, all the Government officers were commanded never to raise any doubts or objections against the exercise of such privileges (No. 885, p. 711).

A decree of King Sebastian was published at Goa in 1537 by Francisco Barreto, his Captain-General and Governor of India (No. 883, p. 710), ordering that all persons converted, or to be converted, to Christianity in the city and island of Goa should enjoy the same privileges and liberties with the Portuguese inhabitants. This order was often repeated from Portugal, but not enforced in India, and the Inquisition of the king, dated 16th January 1715 (No. 6. p. 9) that Christians only—meaning converts—should be employed as labourers, and given every advantage for the purpose of inducing others by such means to embrace the Catholic religion, was so distasteful to the Viceroy, that he stated in his reply, dated 12th January 1716 (No. 10) that His Majesty was under no obligation to suffer a loss of revenues for the sake of farmers whose only divinity was their own interest, whether they were Christians or Gentiles, and that great loss would certainly ensue from letting estates to the former, because they were less industrious as well as unwilling to engage in such labours as the latter were accustomed to.—

In 1714, the Brahman and the Chardos Christians (pretending to be Kshatryas, of three villages of Salcete bordering on the mainland, felt so little respect and veneration for the 'Santissimo' [the host] that they determined to decide a caste-dispute by force of arms on a festival when it was exposed for adoration. Both sides hired lascars, and a battle ensued in which so much blood was shed, that the fray extended to the guard stationed near the 'Santissimo.' The culprits were condemned to various terms of banishment and fined.

No Moor, Gentile or Jew was allowed to be employed as agent or broker, on pain of condemnation to the galleys. The decree enforcing this order was published on the 6th February 1583, by

the Viceroy of India, Dom Fr. Mascarenhas (No. 889, p. 714). Two other documents (No. 886 and No. 891 of Suppt. I) contain the same injunction, but with the addition that also proprietors of estates who do not reside on them with their families in the island of Goa or the adjacent parts, lose all rights to those estates and the incomes thereof. This law appears to have been framed against those who wished to elude the perpetual espionage of the *Holy Office* by spending no more time within its influence than was needed for cultivating their estates.

Slaves were in the habit of running away from Goa to the country of the Moors, where they apostatised from Christianity and became Moslems. Persons of whatever quality favouring their escape were to be punished and their vessels burnt. This decree (No. 892, p. 719) was published in 1592 by order of King Philip. Christian grooms were not to be taken among the Moors by horse-dealers or other merchants, because some renounced the Christian religion and remained there (No. 894).

Dancers of both sexes often came to Goa from the mainland, turning away new converts from the Faith; and as this profession was decently carried on by numerous Christians, the abuse fell under the ban; the Gentile dancers were fined, punished, and lastly sold as slaves by public auction (*pubriquo leilão*).

Certain rights granted to the Gentiles, but especially to the Desais, were from political motives to be respected, but they were by no means allowed often to go to the mainland in order publicly to assist at festivals in Pagodas, nor to erect any on Portuguese territory, and the Inquisitors were enjoined to proceed severely against all persons who might in any way impede the conversion of the Gentiles (No. 10).

The Inquisitor Frey Manoel da Assumpção kidnapped Gentile boys from the estates (*fazendas*), and incarcerated them in the prisons of the *Holy Office*. On the

Kidnapping of children.

representation of the Viceroy to the other Inquisitors, the prisoners were liberated, but some of them must have been married men, because it was reported by them to the Viceroy (No. 1, Suplemento 2 do) that their wives had been compelled to pay 6,000 xerafins for their liberation to the agent (*corretor*) of the same Frey Manoel. This agent confessed the fact, but alleged that this sum was given as alms for 'our Lady of the Mount,' the hermitage in which the said Inquisitor lived. Some of his converts were collecting money from the Gentiles, by threatening to accuse them to the Inquisitor for keeping children in concealment. By a decree dated Lisbon, the 24th March 1702, the king ordered persons thus defrauding the Gentiles by extortion of money to be punished, and those of them who might happen to be priests, to be surrendered to their ecclesiastic judge. He also ordered that children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, should not be taken without the consent of their fathers or relatives. This command appears to have been disregarded, because complaints again reached the king that the 'Fathers of the Christians'—*Pays dos Christãos*—had gone far beyond the law concerning the christianising of Gentile orphans under 16 years of age, by violently abducting from their homes boys and girls who had mothers and other relatives, hindering the latter from

appealing to the Civil Judge of Orphans, and forcing them to submit their cases to the *Holy Tribunal*. To the letter of His Majesty on the subject, the Viceroy replies in another, dated Goa, the 5th December 1704, that such cases occurred only when Frey Manoel da Ascençao [is it a misprint for Assumpçao?] was Inquisitor, in whose time not only the Gentiles but the chief Portuguese families of India suffered much from his excesses (p. 156). The Viceroys generally entertained so salutary a respect for the *Holy Office*, that they always spoke of it in the highest terms as being an almost infallible institution, especially when accusations concerning Inquisitors contemporaneous with themselves had been forwarded to the king; and strangely enough, even the Protector of converted Gentiles (Juiz Conservador) was a member of the *Holy Office*, and the post was in 1682 held by Gonçalves Guiao, the Apostolic Inquisitor, although afterwards provision was made by a royal decree, that this official should be a civilian.

How little the *Holy Office* regarded the prohibitions of the king against kidnapping, appears from a document (No. 2.), dated Goa, 1706, and signed by the Adjutant (Ajudante) of the *Holy Office*. In this document, the Apostolic Inquisitors threaten with the major excommunication all persons failing to give notice of unbaptised orphans, or concealing them for the purpose of eluding baptism. Such documents were issued from time to time, and in one of these (No. 20, p. 97), dated Goa, August 1717, it is expressly stated that it does not matter whether the children are of Gentile or of Christian extraction, all are to be baptized (tambem os filhos dos gentios e pais christaos). Such decrees were passed by the Viceroy in the interest of the Inquisition, and not by the king.

The forced baptisms must have been very numerous, because the Gentiles of Goa sent petitions to the king, complaining of the excess of diligence with which the ecclesiastic dubbed 'Father of the Christians', in whose charge the orphans were, often caught hold of children who were not orphans, and, although below the age of 12 years, were already married, wherefore they could not be called such. The king issued resolutions to diminish the evil, by ordering the local Magistrates to decide what children were orphans, and even to ask them whether they desired to become Christians or not. These resolutions were so unpalatable to the 'Father of the Christians' that he appended to them a note in his ledger to the effect that these resolutions will bring on confusion and will arm the Gentiles totally to hinder the baptisms of orphans.

Pyrard (Tomo II, p. 32-33) informs us that the Portuguese, whenever they got the chance, indiscriminately kidnapped big

as well as little girls, even from nations at peace with them in spite of the prohibition to make slaves of such. They kept them for some time in concealment and then sold them. In the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, great numbers (infinito numero) of slaves of all nations of India were kept at Goa, and the traffic in them was considerable. They were exported to Portugal and to all the other parts of the Portuguese dominions.

Already in 1646, an exodus of the inhabitants had taken place because the laws concerning their conversion had been

Periodical flights of the Gentiles
to the mainland.

enforced with great severity, especially in Salcete and Bardez, where the Franciscans baptized them by force (p. 46). Such a flight to the mainland was repeated in 1716 to the great dismay of the Viceroy, who, putting aside his usual caution, felt constrained to request the king to induce the General of the Society to forbid his Provincial from meddling with political affairs, the more so as ecclesiastics in their turn claimed exemption from the Civil Law (No. 12, p. 22).

Now the priests themselves became so frightened at the evil effects of their inordinate zeal, and the great loss resulting to the State from the flight of the population, that they desired the decree which enabled them to compel the Gentiles to attend Church and to listen to Christian instruction, &c., to be suspended. One of them, Padre Manoel de Sá, of the Society of Jesus, explained his method of conversion in a lengthy document, dated Cortary, the 3rd July 1715, mentioned the example of St. Francis Xavier, and asserted that preaching was the only efficacious one (p. 43), and not violence, incarceration, or decrees (se fez for esto modo, e nao par alvaras).

Curiously enough the 'Father of the Christians'—the official superintending the mechanical conversions, and himself generally a Dominican or a Jesuit—was in this instance made the scape-goat of the ecclesiastics, who requested the Viceroy to order him to desist from enrolling the Gentiles as parishioners, which act of his, they asserted, had caused the emigration. Besides the Gentiles who refused to be converted, there were also others who had become nominal Christians, frequented the churches, and, keeping the penalties of the *Holy Office* before their eyes, never actually relapsed, although they were always in communication with the heads of their castes whom they consulted when necessary, and even went publicly from Goa to the mainland to assist at Gentile festivals. Such persons were not affected by the decrees, which proved so onerous to the Gentiles, that it became at last necessary to revoke them on account of the

disturbances, embarrassments and confusion caused by them (serem revogados pela perturbação, e embaraço, e confusão que tem causado e causao).

Reports were made to the king that whenever the familiars of the *Holy Office* suspected that any Gentiles were performing ceremonies in their houses even with closed doors and no scandal to Christians, they arrested them and cast them into prison, so that villages had been ruined because their houses were deserted (No. 19, p. 96.). The influence of the Inquisition was at that time still so great at court, that nothing was done to put a stop to these malpractices, which entailed much loss on the State, except that the king reminded the Inquisitors that the right of celebrating marriages and other ceremonies privately had been granted to the Gentiles; he also wrote to the Viceroy ordering him to assign a special locality for the performance of such ceremonies; and the latter in his reply, dated 17th January 1718, informs His Majesty that he had pointed out for such purposes the island of Corjume where no Christian inhabitants or churches existed.

The 'Father of the Christians,' who was in direct correspondence with the king, constantly complained that the civil, were not properly seconding the ecclesiastical, au-

Excesses of the Holy Office and
oppression of Gentiles.

thorities in promoting the conversion of the Gentiles. He reminded His

Majesty, that God had granted him his Indian possessions chiefly for the purpose of converting the Gentiles (a primera e principal obrigação, que et Rey nosso Senhor, e seus successores tem nas partes da India, he o negocio da conversão), this being also the condition stipulated in the Apostolic Bulls, on which commerce in India is permitted to the kings of Portugal, and prohibited to other Christian princes (e a condição com que pelas Bullas Apostolicas se concedeo o commercio das ditas partes aos reis de Portugal, e se defendeo a outros Principes Christaos). He also warned the king not to relax or revoke any of the stringent laws or decrees issued for the conversion of Gentiles without consulting the theologians here in India and in Lisbon, and the members of the 'Board of Conscience,' because this business concerns theologians more than jurists or other literati (per nenhum caso se entra em consideração dessa revogação sem consulta de Theologos cá na India, e em Lisboa sem consulta da Mesa da Consciencia, porque este negocio pertence mais a Theologos que juristas o utros lerrados (p. 143).

Numbers of persons claimed exemption from military and other duties exacted by the State, alleging that they were servants of the *Holy Office*. The king having been informed (No.

94, p. 268) that so many persons claim privileges as to make their number equal to those who do not, and that in Salcete alone there were not less than 500 naiks of the *Holy Office*, the Board (Mesa) of the same office evaded all guilt in the matter, not by denying the truth of the above assertion, which would perhaps have been impossible, even if convenient, but by simply stating that according to the order of His Eminence the Cardinal Inquisitor, not more than 30 naiks, were required in the whole of the district just named.

In spite of the general subserviency of the population and even of the civil powers to the authority of the *Holy Office*, collisions with it sometimes took place; but the Viceroy, no doubt, from motives of fear and policy, sided mostly with the Inquisition. The Chamber of the city of Goa (officiaes da Camera da cidade de Goa) sent a petition to the king (No. 96, p. 272) to inform him that the Holy Inquisition was in many instances acting contrary to the royal decrees concerning the public sale of goods and prohibiting the establishment of private Chawls, for that purpose, impeding the civil jurisdiction, causing troubles and loss of revenues, inasmuch as the Inquisitor Sebastiao, Marquis of Proença, had established shambles on the pretext that the *Holy Office* enjoyed the privilege of providing its officials with meat, in which manner the town was defrauded of the taxes paid by butchers. When the king issued an order to put a stop to this abuse, the Viceroy evaded it by replying that the *Holy Office* slaughtered cattle only for the use of its own servants, and for the use of some other persons desiring to provide themselves with meat. As to the Chawls, the Viceroy averred that they were indeed more populous than those of the city which is unhealthy, but not exempted from the jurisdiction of the Chamber.

Considering the perfect liberty of conscience granted in the British factories as soon as they were established, and the absence of it in the Portuguese territories, it is no wonder that many Gentiles, especially merchants, fled from the latter to the former, notably to Bombay and Surat, for fear of the *Holy Office*. This fact is too well known to require corroboration in this place, and was acknowledged by the Viceroy himself in forwarding a petition (No. 105, p. 292) of the Gentiles to the king. In this petition the Gentiles profess to be loyal subjects of His Majesty, but complain of oppression by the *Holy Office*. They again crave to be exempted from all punishments as long as they perform their ceremonies at home, without scandalizing Christians or impeding the propagation of their religion. They complain that the holding of such ceremonies being often reported to the *Holy Office*, many persons are thrown into prison, who

not only lose their health, but die long before sentence is pronounced against them, or shortly afterwards; because refusing to eat food cooked by others, except by persons of their own caste, they are starved. The prisoners are sentenced to be scourged or banished, not seldom on the accusations of other Gentiles originating always from motives of personal enmity, and not from any zeal for the Christian religion; but the *Holy Office* takes cognizance of, and bases its condemnations upon such testimony.

Among the vagaries of the Reverend 'Fathers of the Christians' (Padres Pais dos Christãos), who appear to have been in every village, there was one very unbecoming their sacred function of propagating the Gospel. By an excess of zeal, namely, or impulse of mischievousness, they were in the habit of cutting off the tail of hair (o Sendy) worn by Gentiles, that they might not be admitted into their castes. These fathers were also in the habit of bringing youths from the mainland against their will, and causing them to be apprehended without regarding their assertions, that they were neither vassals nor the sons of vassals of His Majesty. These abductions caused disturbances, and so embarrassed the Viceroy that he felt constrained to bring them to the notice of the king (No. 114, p. 305).

From the above, it would appear that the fathers trespassed on foreign territory, but the Archbishop Primate of Goa desired the king to enforce his authority by abolishing the annual fair and bathing which took place at the river Nora in the possessions of Serdessay Fundú Saunto Bounsoló (No. 119, p. 308). His Majesty demurred to this proposal, as well as to the prohibition of the *Holy Office*, that Portuguese subjects should not be allowed to go to the said *tirtha* (lavatorio), which could not be enforced in foreign territory. They were, moreover, in the habit of assisting on the mainland at ceremonies which were more scandalous than the bathing at which the assembled multitude amounted to more than 20,000 persons, to disperse which artillery would be required, entailing a rupture of the peace (quebrantando humapaz) and actual war with a neighbouring power.

We may mention, as another flagrant instance of the usurpation of secular power by the priesthood, in addition to the usual authority of the *Holy Office*, that the inhabitants of Margao sent a petition to the king in which they stated, that, being laymen and under the royal jurisdiction, they claimed exemption from being thrown into prison by ecclesiastics except in cases of heresy; accordingly the king issued a decree to the Viceroy in April 1729 (No. 124), ordering him to prevent the Archbishop and all other ecclesiastics from usurping royal jurisdiction by offering violence to his vassals, except in the above-mentioned case of heresy.

The king had given permission to Gentile tenants of his estates who had done certain services, to be carried in palankeens and to have umbrellas (para andar em andor, e trazerem sombreiros) ; but the Archbishop abovementioned issued a Pastoral in which he excommunicated all Christian labourers who might serve such men, and disturbances ensued. He issued also another Pastoral, in which he prohibited Christian barbers from shaving Gentiles ! Strangely enough, the Viceroy, probably with the intention of exculpating the Archbishop, whose proceedings had been reported in a petition to the king, wrote to the latter, that it seemed the Archbishop had issued the Pastoral against the palankeens and umbrellas to cut off a source of revenue from the Vicar of the Nara de Dio, who used to sell licenses for using them ! The people were so much in dread of this Archbishop, that they preferred to suffer the injuries he inflicted upon them, rather than bring upon themselves more dangerous oppressions by irritating him (No. 126, p. 318). Some of the documents relating to this Archbishop's proceedings, and referred to in the *Archivo*, can no longer be found in the *Livro das Moncoes*, and have probably been destroyed, but we have the authority of the Viceroy, Saldanha da Gama (No. 127. p. 319) that the justifications of the Archbishop were, in spite of the loss of the documents alluded to, certainly false (certamente hão de ser falsos). He was accustomed to proceed *ex abrupto*, without any legal proceedings, against the subjects of His Majesty, in matters entirely foreign to his duties ; he imprisoned many without anybody daring to interfere, loaded them with chains, and they died long before the despatches concerning their cases could arrive from Portugal, so that the remedy granted by His Majesty to the oppressed became futile. The Archbishop also prohibited all ecclesiastics from swearing oaths in civil matters before secular judges, who were consequently unwilling to admit their testimony, so that many confusions and failures of justice necessarily ensued (No. 128). The Padre Antonio Nicolao de Menezes, who presided over the district of Margao, levied sums of money from the parishioners for the performance of every religious ceremony, and appears to have been as greedy of lucre as the Archbishop under whose protection he acted.

The extortions, some of which we have just mentioned, became at last so onerous to the inhabitants, that in their petition to the king they declared themselves to be in the positions of the Christians of Jerusalem, who were obliged to pay heavy sums of money to the Turks for every act of Christian worship (No. 150, p. 404). After the Roman Archbishop, Dom Ignacio da Santa Teresa, had during eight years subjected the people to innumerable vexations, condemnations, and severe imprisonments, they

repeatedly sent petitions to the king, but this Prelate took good care to counteract them, and to represent the population to the king as being of a very mutinous and proud disposition (*Estes Canarins, Senhor, são os mais orgulhosos, os mais temerarios, e os mais soberbos e rebeldes, &c., p. 444*).

Such examples as the above, which show how much the Christians were at variance with their spiritual fathers, could not be edifying to the Gentiles among whom they lived, and who refused to be converted. The laws about the baptism of children were often eluded by exporting them to the mainland, whence they returned when they were grown up and could not be forced by law to become inmates of the house of neophytes in charge of the "Father of the Christians;" hence, we find the latter often complaining in their letters to the king, that the want of conversions must chiefly be attributed to the fact that the decrees concerning them were not enforced with sufficient stringency. A letter (No. 162, p. 446) written to the king in 1735, and signed by Manoel de Abreu, da Companhia de Jesus, Pay dos Christãos, insists, among other causes, chiefly on this point, whereas the last named Archbishop, still continued, even in 1740, to usurp the functions of the royal jurisdiction to such a degree that the Viceroy Marquez de Castello Novo petitioned the king (No. 169, p. 402) to prohibit him from doing so.

The *Holy Office* never pretended to disobey any ordinance of the king in favour of the Gentiles, but nevertheless found means to evade it when convenient; thus, for instance, when the king granted permission to the Gentiles to perform their marriage and other ceremonies with closed doors without causing scandal to Christians, the *Holy Office* at once acquiesced and yielded, but at the same time requested their Promotor to give his opinion, which came out in the form of a long document (No. 185, p.p. 499-514), nullifying the license just named, on a multitude of religious, legal, and political grounds. To this document the *Holy Office* appended only one line, to the effect that, after seeing the reply of the Reverend Promotor, nothing remains but to subscribe to it.

The following edict of the Holy Inquisition, published by it on the 14th April 1736, will show better than anything else how minutely that sacred Tribunal meddled with the ordinary and mostly innocent usages of family-life for the purpose of obtaining victims:—

"The Apostolic Inquisitors against the heretic depravity and apostacy in this city, in the Archbishopric of Goa, and in most parts of the estate of India, &c.

Text of a most vexatious edict.

"We command that the natives of India, dwelling in the island of Goa, in the adjacent islands, as well as in the provinces of Salcete and Barder, shall neither in their weddings, before or after them, nor on any other solemn occasions whatever, make use of fifes or other Gentile instruments, as they were hitherto accustomed to use.

"*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India, when they arrange their marriages, and deliver the dowries, or give the presents, shall not invite the male or female relatives of the bridegroom and bride, whom they were accustomed to call *Daigis* or *Gotris*, in order to be present at the said ceremonies, and if one of these happens to be present without being invited, he is not to receive the dowry in the name of the bridegroom, nor to give it, nor to deliver the gift of the bride; these acts must be performed only by the parents or guardians of the bridegroom, by a clergyman or respectable civilian.

"*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India, when they convey the dowries to the house of the bridegroom, and when they receive the gifts or celebrate all the solemnities pertaining to marriages, shall neither during, before nor after them, send from the house of the bridegroom to the house of the bride, nor from her's to that of the bridegroom, leaves of any kind whatever, neither betel, nor areca, nor anything whatever as a substitute in lieu of these prohibited leaves.

"*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall neither in their marriage, nor on any other solemn occasions, distribute packets of betel, areca (*pan-supari*) among the persons present at the house of the bridegroom or bride, either publicly or privately; but when they desire to make use of those things, they must place them on the table without distributing them; nor are the persons present to take them according to any order of honour or precedence, but just as any one happens to like.

"*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall, on occasions of marriages, and in all the acts concerning the same, not sing, either publicly or privately, in the house of the bride or bridegroom, the chants usually sung in the language of the country and vulgarly named *vovios*. When they wish to hold a festival with demonstrations of joy, their songs are not to resemble the said *vovios*; nor shall on any such occasions the female relatives or *Daigis* of the bridegroom or of the bride sing.

"*Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall on no occasion, nor under any pretext whatever, sing in their houses the songs called *vovios*, either publicly or privately, in order that the use of the said songs may be effectually extinguished among faithful Christians.

“*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall on the occasion of their weddings not begin in the house of bridegroom, as well as of the bride, or in any other place whatever, on certain appointed days* before the wedding, to pound the rice, to grind the seasonings and the flour, to fry the cakes or to prepare most of the things necessary for the wedding banquets, and that such services shall not chiefly be performed by any person or persons related to the bridegroom or bride, or by their *Daigis*; but the said services are to be performed at the time proper for expediting matters, the persons necessary for them concurring simultaneously, without any preference whatever, or any regard whatever to any custom hitherto observed.

“*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall, neither in the celebrations of their marriages, nor in any acts concerning them, especially on the day of agreement, on the 8th day before the wedding, on the evening or the day of the wedding, on the following day, on the 3rd, 4th and 8th day after the wedding, apply to the bodies of the bridegroom or bride, either conjointly or separately, any ointments of ground saffron, milk, cocoa-oil, rice-flour, pulverised leaves of trees, or any other things whatever.

“*Also* :—We command the natives of India that they shall, neither on occasions of their marriages, nor in any acts connected with them, especially on the abovementioned days, cause the bridegroom and the bride to perform ablutions either conjointly or separately, at which ablutions other persons assemble; it being necessary, however, to wash, they must do so either by themselves, or in the presence of one other person to give them water, which person must neither be a relative, nor the greater *Daigi*, of the bridegroom or bride.

“*Also* :—We order the said natives of India not to erect arbours at the doors of bridegrooms and brides on the occasion of their marriages.

“*Also* :—We order the said natives of India that on the wedding-day, when the bridegroom and bride return from the church to the house of the latter, and the next day, when they go from the house of the latter to that of the former, they shall not be received in the said houses by the relatives and *Daigis* of the bride or bridegroom, and shall not sit down under the canopy, but shall immediately be led to the proper house; nor shall the relatives or *Daigis* of the newly married couple throw leaves upon them or upon the guests who accompany them, or sprinkle them with perfumed water.

“*Also* :—We command the said natives of India to hold their weddings at such hours, that the newly married couple may reach the house before sunset, and may under no pretext remain on the road so as to return after sunset.

"*Also* :—We order the said natives of India not to place under the bed on which the newly married couple sleep, betel, areca, or any other eatable thing whatever.

"*Also* :—We order the said natives of India that they shall neither on the wedding-day nor on the next day, in the house of the bridegroom or of the bride, when they enter the said houses, forthwith be led to the place where they will have to sleep, or be covered by anybody with any kind of cloth, or be given to drink from the same cup for both, or any fruit or dish to be divided among both.

"*Also* :—We command the said natives of India that in the banquets given on the occasion of their marriages, the relatives of the bridegroom or bride, called *Daigis* or *Gotris*, are not to serve at table, nor any not living in the same house with the bridegroom or bride, nor related by blood in the first degree in a right or transversal line; and the persons serving at table, when they happen to be of a class that wear shoes, shall not perform this service barefooted.

"*Also* :—We command the said natives of India, that on their wedding-day, after returning from church, the bride shall not see the clothes, or furniture, and shall not adorn herself with the jewels which may on such a wedding be sent to her from the house of the bridegroom; nor shall he, when the time comes for her to change her dress, himself offer to her the garment to put on; and on the same day the bridegroom is likewise not to put away the clothes he wears and to put on others given to him in the house of the bride; nor is the bridegroom, when they are going to bed in the presence of other persons, especially females, to put away his shirt, and white breeches, in order to put on other breeches and another shirt.

"*Also* :—We order the said natives of India that on the day of their marriages, on the day after, or on any other day, in the house of the bridegroom as well as of the bride, no person shall touch their heads with grains of raw rice, or shall perform any similar ceremony.

"*Also* :—We command to the said natives of India that on the occasions of their marriages, from the day of the celebration of the arrangement inclusively, until one month after the marriage has elapsed, neither the bridegroom nor the bride shall, conjointly or separately, in the day or in the night, pay a visit to the house of the greater *Daigi* of their caste.

"*Also* : We order to the said natives of India that, if, on the day after their marriages, as is customary, the bridegroom and bride go to the house of the former, they shall not return to the house of the latter within the expiration of one month; and that if they do on the said day, not betake themselves to the

house of the bridegroom, they must, at least, during the same period of time remain in the house of the bride, and must issue no kinds of invitations, nor send presents, as when the couple remove from one house to another.

" *Also* :—We order the said natives of India that, when the bridegroom and the bride betake themselves from the house of the former to that of the latter, or the contrary, neither they nor any person accompanying them take with them any betel, areca, cakes, cocoa-nuts, rice, or any other edible thing.

" *Also* :—We command the said natives of India that the persons who carry any kind of garments, jewels, or other things whatever, during the celebration of their marriages, from the house of the bridegroom to that of the bride, shall not go adorned, nor trimmed, nor wear any other, except the usual garments.

" *Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall, neither before nor after their marriages, nor with reference to them, give anything to any person who may have held the office of *Muly* in any village, settlement, or district.

" *Also* :—We order the said natives of India that any male or female person who may have held the office of *Muly* in any district, or performed the duties thereof, shall not be present at any marriage ceremonies, except only those of his own sons and daughters.

" *Also* :—We order the said natives of India not to reserve any of the victuals, prepared for the banquets on occasions of their marriages, or any portions of them, to be cooked and eaten on any specially appointed day.

" *Also* :—We order the said natives of India that on occasions of their marriages, when it becomes necessary to construct new hearths for the purpose of cooking victuals, they shall put beneath the said hearths neither betel nor areca, nor any other thing unnecessary for the construction of such hearths.

" *Also* :—We order the said natives of India that, when sons or daughters are born to them, they shall not receive them at the birth upon raw rice, nor place them after it thereon.

" *Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall, after the sixth day from the birth of sons or daughters, not perform the ceremony of 'the nautch' by giving a public or private dinner, or have many persons in their houses; they are, moreover, to understand that it is necessary to take greater care of children on account of the dangers to which they are exposed on such days, wherefore they must perform no ceremony or act incompatible with that care; and because not only the natives of India but many inhabitants of the island of Goa, and more especially those of the adjacent islands, the provinces of

Salcete and Bardez, and even the Portuguese, have hitherto been observing the custom of celebrating the sixth day after the birth of their sons and daughters with banquets and other demonstrations of joy, we prohibit to them the continuation of the said custom in the above stated form.

"*Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall, neither on the day of the delivery of their wives, nor before, nor after them with reference to those child-births, cow-dung the place where the birth has taken place, or is to take place.

"*Also* :—We command that the wives of the said natives of India shall not wash their bodies near any well, till after two months from their delivery have elapsed ; and when convenient they may wash themselves in another place, but must not deposit there betel, areca, or any other edible thing.

"*Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall, during the time of one year from the birth of their sons and daughters, not carry them, or cause them to be carried, to the greater *Daigy* or *Gotri* of their caste.

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"*Also* :—We command the said natives of India that when a person dies, the place or house in which the death has taken place, is not to be cow-dunged, to make it fit to be visited by people ; but that when it becomes necessary to clean the said place, it is to be done by other means than by cow-dunging.

"*Also* :—We order the said natives of India not to put into the sea, nor into the river, either the garments or the bed used by a deceased person, but to burn the said things when necessary to avoid contagion.

"*Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall on no occasion invite poor people to their houses to give them dinners for the good of the souls of their deceased in general, or for any of them in particular ; and when they desire to give alms to the poor for the said purposes, they may do so in another manner then, but never by giving them dinners.

"*Also* :—We command to the said natives of India that when a death takes place, or after the death of any person, or on any occasion whatever, they shall not give banquets in their houses in memory of their dead.

"*Also* :—We order to the said natives of India, that in their houses the service of the kitchen shall not be performed by a woman or women with moist garments, or by women who have washed their bodies with the garments they wear, before they perform the said service, according to the usage of Gentile women.

"*Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall not

use with their food rice cooked without salt, mixing it therewith afterwards in the manner of a relish, as the Gentiles are accustomed to do.

“ *Also* :—We command the said natives of India not to fast on the eleventh day of the moon, at the full moon, or on other days when the Gentiles are accustomed to fast, as an observance of their caste ; but when it becomes obligatory to fast on such days according to the precepts of the church, they are to fast, to keep the said precepts, and let the fast be kept according to the usage of Christians, and not according to the custom of the Gentiles, who neither eat nor drink except in the night, and use only dry victuals with fruits.

“ *Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall keep neither Wednesdays, nor days of the new or the full moon, nor the twelfth day of such moons, as holy days, nor any other days whatever which the Gentiles are accustomed to keep ; and if any such days are to be kept by the precepts of the church, they are to be kept merely for the observance of the said precepts.

“ *Also* :—We order that the said natives of India shall, neither at the days of the new nor of the full moon, nor on the twelfth day of the said moons, hold banquets or any solemnity whatever.

“ *Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall, on days of lunar eclipses, not fast till the moon is liberated from the eclipse, nor perform any other solemnity whatever.

“ *Also* :—We command that the natives of India, as well as all the dwellers in the abovenamed districts, and also the Portuguese, shall, neither in their country-houses, nor gardens, nor palm-groves, nor farms, keep the plant *tulossi** in any part whatever, but shall instantly pull it out wherever found.

“ *Also* :—We command that the said natives of India, the inhabitants of the abovenamed districts, and also the Portuguese, shall not address any Christian person by a Gentile name or surname.

“ *Also* :—We order the said natives of India that none of them shall exercise the office of *Muly*, or be held and considered as such.

“ *Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall on no occasion, or under any pretext, give any thing whatever to a person exercising the office of *Muly*, or acting for one, in expectation of holding the said office in future.

“ *Also* :—We command that the said natives of India shall not treat with respect or honour any person exercising the office of

* This is the well known *tulsi* plant, the *Ocimum Sanctum*, considered sacred by the Hindus, and generally kept by them in flower-pots.

Muly, or acting for one ; nor shall such a person be the first to begin the tillage, the harvest, or to cover their houses before the winter, all of which labours are to be performed without distinction, and according to the convenience of every one.

“ *Also* :—We command to the said natives of India that during the three days of carnival, called Shrove tide, men and boys shall not play conjointly in any village or farm at the doors, and that those who play must not do so together, or for any edibles, or for farthings, or for any other thing whatever.

“ *Also* :—We order to the natives of India, to all the inhabitants of the said districts and also to the Portuguese, that in the processions and in all other festivities whatever, held either during the day or during the night to the praise of God and of His Saints, no Christian person shall appear in a Gentile costume, and that no Gentile persons shall be admitted to the said ceremonies for the purpose of dancing or holding any festivities, nor must any musical instruments used by Gentiles in the solemnities of their pagodas be employed in them ; Christians may, however, wear a Gentile dress in any true representation, as for instance, in the dance usually performed on the day of St. Peter's conversion, or on any similar occasion.

“ *Also* :—We command to the said natives of India, to the inhabitants of the said districts, as well as to the Portuguese, that in processions or any other festivals whatever, no person shall for the sake of fun or burlesque disguise himself in the garb of a priest or monk, or perform any act to invitiating the ceremonies and rites of the church.

“ *Also* :—We command that during the Lent, when the acts of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ are represented in the churches of the secular as well as of the monastic clergy, no other living or dead figures shall be employed, except those which represent the same Lord, or the image of our Lady, and some Saints, contributing to the truthfulness of the representation ; they may also have some figures of angels, according to the concession they shall obtain from the most illustrious Archbishop Primate ; but there are on no occasion to be figures of Pilate, Judas, Ananias, Caiaphas, Herod, or of Pharisees, nor any others, besides those mentioned above ; because such figures give rise not only to scandals and indecency, but also to much real idolatry.

“ *Also* :—We command that in the processions held during Lent as representations of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the churches of the secular as well as of the monastic clergy, there shall be no figures of the Centurion or of Pharisees from which the same scandals and perils ensue.

"Also :—We command all the inhabitants of the said districts of the islands of Goa, and those of the adjacent provinces of Salcete and Bardez, of whatever estate or condition they may be, not to concur, aid, or in any manner whatever co-operate in the performance of any acts above prohibited."

This edict concerns Christian natives, who by infringing its commands rendered themselves liable to be thrown into prison and lose their property and lives. The fury of the Inquisition extended, however, also against natives of other religions who, however, did not suffer capital punishment at the stake like those converts who relapsed, but were for their supposed sins whipped, banished, condemned to the galleys and to similar punishments.* If a rich man offended his servant or slave, he had only to accuse him of not paying respect to images, of having crucifixes upon the cushions on which he sat or knelt, or that he did not eat pork, &c., to ruin him. On such spiteful and trifling accusations men of property lost it to enrich the Holy Inquisition and were burnt.

On the ground that the *Familiars* of the *Holy Office* were not numerous enough, the Inquisitors employed even noblemen (*fidalgos*) to take prisoners to the *Auto da fé*. This function was deemed to be so honourable, that a gentleman considered himself insulted if he was not invited to perform it. An example of this kind happened in the case of Dom Phelippe de Sousa who had been in 1693 excluded from the invitation because the Inquisitors of Macao had conceived a spite against him for his daring to be of another opinion than the *Holy Office* in a dispute it had with the Crown. The *Holy Office* had been expressly instructed by the Inquisition of the realm of Portugal to invite Dom Phelippe with his brothers to take charge of prisoners at the *Auto da fé*, but refused to comply, and caused much discord; wherefore the king issued at last a decree (No. 205, p. 559), dated Lisbon, 18th March 1697, in which he invited the Inquisitor-General to instruct the ministers of the *Holy Office*, henceforth to employ only ecclesiastics for conveying prisoners to the *Auto da fé*.

From another document (No. 208, p. 565), it appears that, although but few missionaries are asserted to have been in the north, they baptized great numbers, many of whom, having no proper knowledge of Christianity, relapsed and were imprisoned in such multitudes, that the villages of the districts of Bassein, Damaon and Tarapur lost their population. According to the opinion of the Viceroy the best remedy would have been for the

* *Quadros Historicos de Goa*, Miranda. Cadernata, I., p. 48, Por. J. C. B.

Inquisitor to proceed to the north, to see whether by forgiving past transgressions, emigration and flight—no doubt to British settlements—could not be prevented. In the same document, the Inquisitors are—perhaps satirically—asserted to be so weak (*enfermos*), that nothing can be accomplished; whereas from the very next document (No. 209, p. 565), as if to belie the assertion just made, it appears, that children were still abducted by force from the mainland and baptized.

Ruin of Portuguese
India and its causes.

The true causes of the gradual decay and ruin of the Portuguese territory had been pointed out to the king already in 1729 in a letter (No. 130, p. 324) by the Viceroy João Saldanha da Gama, who appears not to have been afraid of the *Holy Office*. He states that the ruin of the Portuguese territory must visibly be attributed to the absence of trade which originates from two causes:—*Firstly*, the horror felt by all merchants, whether Gentiles or Moors towards the proceedings of the *Holy Office*, not only on account of the diabolic passion with which it outrages all their rites, but also on account of their sufferings in the prisons where they prefer to die than to eat food prepared by another caste than their own; there being so many of them that separate prisons for so many castes cannot be maintained. The second cause is the ill-treatment to which the prisoners are subjected when they are taken. As merchants were persecuted also by native governments they took refuge in Portuguese territory, but not being allowed free exercise of their religion, they emigrated again and populated the English and French factories to enrich their commerce. The Viceroy further adds that he is not aware of any authority by which the Inquisition takes cognizance of the guilt of men who never were Catholics, and states that on account of the great number of prisoners of this kind (*excessive quantitate de presos desta qualidade*), the whole province of the north had become depopulated, and the admirable factory of Tannah lost, which is now established in Bombay, whence the English carry off all the silk camlets, silk handkerchiefs and coarse cloths. The commissaries of the *Holy Office* were numerous, and usually friars who did not behave as they ought; some of these the Viceroy wished to depose by his own orders, and some to be chastised by the Inquisitors themselves.*

The abolition of the Inquisition at Goa had been decreed from Lisbon, during the reign of King José, by a royal letter dated the

* The above letter of the Viceroy Saldanha da Gama, dated Goa, the 19th December 1729, may also be seen on pp. 109-112 of Abreu's Portuguese. Translation of Dellon's narrative among the notes.

Abolition of the Holy
Inquisition.

10th February 1774, through his wise minister the Marquis de Pombal, and the order was executed in Goa on the 26th October of the same year. In the above-named document, the Marquis de Pombal ordered the Captain-General of India De José Pedro da Camara to assemble the Inquisitors and to read to them two letters from the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinal the General Inquisitor, in one of which the extinction of the Inquisition is decreed, and in the other, the discharge of all the prisoners, as well as the surrender of all the moneys and papers is commanded. The document continues thus:—

“In case those ministers (little accustomed to obey, but on the contrary to elude under various pretexts, orders arriving from so distant a country as Portugal) should demand time for making their protests and replies, or make similar pretences for delay, the auditor (ouvidor) is to answer, *that your lordship has positive orders to give quick execution to the said orders, without admitting any excuses that might delay it.* In the other case, however, which is not likely to happen, namely, if they should still refuse to obey, the same auditor is significantly to inform them that, as soon as such behaviour is reported, your lordship will treat them as rebels against the king, and against the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinal Inquisitor-General; that, as such, they will have to be arrested and sent off by the first ship to the presence of His Majesty and of his Eminence.” The document terminates with the information that the Cardinal Inquisitor-General has appointed a commissary of the Holy Office (santo officio) in the city of Goa, namely, the Archbishop, the fact of this appointment was, however, to be kept a profound and impenetrable secret.

In a declaration dated Goa, the 26th October 1774, and signed by eight priests of the Inquisition, they acknowledge that the two letters abovenamed concerning the extinction of the Tribunal had been duly read to them. According to the letter of the Auditor-General (Ouvidor-General) to the Governor and Captain-General de José Pedro da Camara, dated Goa, the 22nd February 1775, the actual taking over of the moneys, plate, &c., from the Inquisition and the making of the inventory of all its property were accomplished during the last mentioned month. Also the Marquis de Pombal acknowledges in a reply, dated Lisbon, the 12th January 1776, that he had, from a letter of de José Pedro da Camara, obtained information of the execution of the royal orders and of the abolition of the Inquisition.

The Holy Tribunal thus peremptorily suppressed, remained so for a few years only. It was resuscitated by the Queen Donna

Maria I, and the letter on the subject, dated Lisbon, the 9th April 1778, addressed by her Prime Minister Angeja to the authorities of Goa, is as follows:—"The Marquis of Angeja, &c.,—I make known to the junta of the administration of the royal estate and city of Goa that my Sovereign Lady the Queen, considering the need there is under the present circumstances in this estate, for again establishing therein the two extinct Tribunals of Relation and Inquisition for administering justice with the necessary regularity and promptness, our Sovereign Lady orders this junta to co-operate in the re-establishment of the two abovenamed Tribunals, and to satisfy the ministers nominated by them, &c."

The Tribunal, having thus been reinstated in the reign of Donna Maria I in 1799, was soon again in full operation, and barely renounced the pomp of the *Autos da fé*, but carried on its processes according to the laws of the realm; its proceedings must, however, have been distasteful during the beginning of the present century even in Portugal; for the minister, D. Rodrigo de Sousa Continho, addressed a letter dated the 2nd May 1801 to the Governor and Captain-General Francisco Antonio de Veiga Cabral, in which he desired him to give his opinion whether the suppression of the Relation and of the Inquisition, as enforced during the prosperous reign of king Dom José I, would or would not be a useful and economical step? The reply of the Governor was to the effect that the Tribunal acts with moderation and avoids the horrors which caused in former times the emigration of innumerable traders, and that during his residence of nineteen years in the country, the Inquisition had no occasion to exercise its authority against any apostate or dangerous heretic, its usual proceedings having been directed only against persons of the most abject condition; he was, however, nevertheless, of opinion that it would be best to abolish the said Tribunal, and to substitute for it a commissary appointed by the Inquisitor-General, as had been the case in 1774. From this document it would appear that the extinction of the Inquisition was not mooted first by the English Government in its treaty of 1810, as is commonly believed, and M. V. Abreu duly explains this circumstance on p. 115 in a foot-note to his Portuguese translation of Dellon's narrative, 1808.

The visit of Dr. Claudius Buchanan to Goa in January was published under the title of "Christian Researches in Asia," and also translated into Portuguese. He was not a little surprised to find that the learned and politic Fr. José das Dores to whom he had been introduced, held the position of an Inquisitor; afterwards, however, he became not only better acquainted with him but also his occasional guest. The other Inquisitors were

likewise pleasant and communicative, but, especially, a Franciscan monk who had been present at many *Autos da fé* from 1770 till 1775. At that time the Holy Tribunal still assembled four times every week; its punishments were, however, not executed publicly as in former times, but secretly, with closed doors. Those who had been prisoners of the Tribunal, were perfectly mute on the subject, but recognizable by their dread of priests, by their guarded language, and behaviour. Dr. Buchanan was shown the interior of the Holy Office, but the Inquisitors stoutly refused compliance with his request to see the subterraneous dungeons, and even his inquiry about the number of prisoners confined in them was met with the firm reply of an Inquisitor:—"I can give no answer to this question." Not content with what he had seen during his first visit to the Holy Office, Dr. Buchanan paid it a second, but was received very coldly, and speedily escorted to the staircase.

The spirit of the times had so changed, that the Inquisition could not, in spite of its efforts not to shock it by gross outrages as of yore, possibly subsist much longer. Before, however, its final knell was sounded, it had to accept in 1809 a secular president without whose signature no sentence could be executed. Having lost all its power and influence everywhere, the Holy Tribunal submitted to the indignity. The royal letter on the subject is as follows:—"To Antonio Gomes Pereira da Silva, Chancellor of the Relation in Goa. I, the Prince Regent, send you many salutations. It having been truthfully reported to my royal presence what inconvenience must necessarily result for the conversation of our holy religion in these our estates of India from the extreme remissness of some deputies of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, which may, however, be obviated by appointing over it a secular president adorned with virtues and capacities rendering him suitable to cause the government of the said Tribunal to be administered to the profit of the church and of the State, and without infringing the protection due to my peaceable vassals of different creeds; and aware of the obligations under which I am as the father of my vassals, the protector of the church, and the defender of the Faith, to remove by suitable and efficacious measures the grave injuries my vassals suffer from the abovenamed cause and to prevent occasions for their repetition or aggravation; and being confident that you will meritoriously discharge the duty of amending the remissness alluded to above, as well as the abuse of authority consequent thereon, which is so prejudicial to the true interests of religion and of the State, I consider it proper to appoint you, and hereby do appoint you the first President of the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Goa, and

entrust you with its regular jurisdiction according to the manner of the presidents of my other Tribunals, as well as with the internal economy and policy of the abovenamed Tribunal of the Inquisition of this estate; conceding to you, and hereby I do concede to you the prerogative of invalidating any sentence, order, or mandate whatever of the said Tribunal by the simple absence of your signature or endorsement, which I command and desire to be essentially necessary to make any acts whatever of the said Tribunal of the Inquisition valid; they will, without that indispensable and essential solemnity, always be considered of no consequence and without any effect whatever. And the Viceroy and Captain-General by sea and by land of the estates of India I order to take copy of this my royal letter, not only for the purpose of obtaining knowledge of its contents, but to enable him to instal you in the abovenamed post of president according to the formalities of its tenor. This letter is communicated to you for your information and guidance as commanded therein. Written in the Palace of Rio Janeiro on the 29th May 1809.—Signature of the Prince Regent Dom João, Secretariat of the State, on the 3rd June 1809.—José Manoel Placido de Moraes.”

In Dr. Buchanan's time a British garrison was at Goa, and the same was the case also in 1812. It is well known that the strong recommendation to abolish the Inquisition altogether, which had been forwarded from London to Rio Janeiro, contributed not a little to its extinction, which was decreed and effected by the following royal mandate:—“To Count Sarzedes, Viceroy and Captain-General by sea and by land of the estate of India. My friend, I, the Prince Regent, send you many salutations, as to one whom I love. Having in all my royal ordinances, and particularly in those promulgated since I transferred my august residence to this court of Rio Janeiro, manifested what my royal desires and intentions are for promoting the welfare and aggrandizement of this estate of India, which the vicissitudes of the times and disastrous events have caused considerably to fall from its original grandeur and splendor, that had there established the glory of the Portuguese name; and not having failed for the purpose of reviving the industry, commerce, and navigation of that portion of my royal dominions, to grant all the privileges, liberties, and exemptions which appeared to me conducive to the realisation of this project, I have determined to promote the effects of these beneficent arrangements, and also the increase of the population and industry of that country, by removing those obstacles which seem hitherto to have impeded the settling on the estates of persons belonging to various sects and nations, who are still intimidated by the deterrent remembrance of the ancient proceed-

ings wherewith the Inquisition of Goa frightened the people of India by the severity practised in the exercise of its functions, which are as contrary to the true spirit of its institution as they are opposed to the pious intentions of my august and royal progenitors. Wherefore, imitating the sound policy which induced king Dom José, my master and grandfather, who is now in holy glory, to abolish the Tribunal of the Inquisition of Goa in 1744, and the motives and considerations having ceased which made it a few years afterwards advisable to re-establish that Tribunal, I order its extinction now and for ever, and declare that in my estates of India all the religions of its various populations will be tolerated. I also prohibit the commission of any kind of violent acts towards the professors of any sects, conformably to the usage observed by the most civilised nations, which promote by such toleration the aggrandizement of their countries. Let it be, however, well understood, that the public profession of Gentile religions is allowed with the reserve exacted by the respect and veneration due to our holy Roman Catholic faith as the only dominant religion of Portugal, which I purpose to keep inviolable in all its purity and decorum. This information is communicated to you for due and immediate execution. Written in the Palace of Rio Janeiro on the 16th June 1812.—Signature of the Prince Regent Dom José."

The final and total extinction of the Holy Inquisition was thus accomplished to the joy of everybody and without any opposition. The three chief officials of the Tribunal were at that time, Fr. Luis de Ribamar, Fr. José das Dores, and Fr. Thomas; the two first being Inquisitors and the last Promotor. They too could not complain much of the abolition of their functions, because their salaries were continued to them without performing any, as pensions.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. V.—A UNIVERSAL ALPHABET AND THE TRANS-
LITERATION OF INDIAN LANGUAGES.

ONE common alphabet for all the world, one uniform system of weights and measures, and of coinage—these are ideas that have been making steady way in the world ; and as regards weights, measures and coinage, practical steps have already in some measure been taken. As expanding commerce and increasing facilities for intercourse among nations draw them closer together, and create among them a living sense of solidarity, a universal alphabet—that is now merely an idea cherished by a few thoughtful men—will doubtless become an accomplished fact.

It is the purpose of the present paper to throw out a few general observations on the question of the eventual adoption of one universal alphabet all over the civilized world, with special suggestions about the adaptation of the Roman alphabet to some of the Indian languages, and comments on the system of transliterating Bengali, lately put forth by Mr. J. F. Browne, Judge of the 24-Pergunnahs, Bengal.

The advantage of having one common system of symbols for representing the sounds of all human languages is so obvious, that it is scarcely necessary to enforce it by arguments. If there were never any occasion for any individual to learn to read and write a language different from his own mother-tongue, there would be no disadvantage in having as many alphabets in the world as there are languages. The conditions of life, however, demand that hundreds of thousands now, and unborn millions in future, should learn to read and write one or more foreign languages ; and whatever would be a help, however slight, to such large numbers of human beings, without being a hindrance to the rest of their fellow-men, must be an object worthy of human endeavour.

If there is to be a universal alphabet in the world, it by no means follows that such alphabet would be required in its entirety to represent the sounds of every human language. A universal alphabet must, indeed, in its full complement of symbols, be comprehensive enough to contain distinct characters and marks for the representation of all possible distinct sounds produced by human organs of speech—must contain contrivances to represent even Chinese intonations and Hottentot clicks. All the letters and marks of this alphabet and their sounds, all human beings that learn to read and write any language whatever cannot certainly be under any necessity to learn. The Tahitian who

learns to read and write only his native language, which has a mere handful of elementary sounds, can be under no necessity to torture his eye and strain his memory for the purpose of acquiring symbols and sounds that he can never have any occasion to use. The Tahitian, however, who learns to read and write French, must try to acquire the distinct sounds of the French tongue, and the symbols used to represent them. Every language must draw from the universal alphabet as many symbols as would be required to represent the distinct sounds of that language, neither more nor less. The same symbols with the same powers to be employed in writing in all languages—this would be all the purpose served by a universal alphabet. These are indeed simple truths, and a statement of them may probably be resented by many of our readers as an insult to their understanding. Nevertheless it seems desirable to state them to prevent misconception.

Any movement for the adoption of a universal alphabet will necessarily have to be supplemented by a movement for the adoption of phonetic writing. The one movement would indeed be of very little use without the other. A change of alphabet in Bengal, for instance, which, adopting the current system of transliteration, would give us *yauvana* or even *jauvan* for the Bengali word *jouban* যৌবন, or *Lakshmi* for *Lokkhi* লক্কী would, the present writer thinks, be not only not worth having, but would prove worse than useless. All the Bengali characters have not the same powers as the corresponding Devanagari characters; and a system of transliteration that would ignore this, would certainly be liable to very serious objection.

Phonetic writing has, it is true, powerful opponents in learned men who are advocates of what is called the historical method of spelling; and there have been learned men, too, like Archbishop Trench, who, making their own narrow mental horizon the measure of possibilities, have failed to conceive how so "barbarising" a process as phonetic spelling could ever supersede their own favorite historical method. All learning, however, is not arrayed against the phonetic movement, and the lofty name of Dr. Max Müller may be quoted as on the side of this movement. Even if it were otherwise, no weight of learning, it may confidently be asserted, could ever effectually arrest a movement so clearly conducive to human happiness. The opponents of the movement seem to the present writer to be utterly inconsistent with themselves. Spelling, to be truly historical, ought to be phonetic. As the sound changes, there should be a parallel change in the written representation of the sound. If writing were phonetic, the successive phases of change that a word underwent would be systematically recorded. As it

is, the so-called historical method records a change of sound up to a certain point, and then gives up all further record of change. To take an example: the English word *deign* is derived from the Latin *dignor*, or some provincial form of this word, through the French *daigner*. Well, the *g* in *deign*, like an atrophied member in the animal body, represents the Latin *g* in *dignor*, and is in so far a source of intense gratification to men of the Trench type of mind. Now, the Latin *dignor* must have changed its sound in the mouths of the corrupt-Latin-speakers of Gaul, before it could be written *daigner* instead of *dignor*. *Primâ facie*, *daigner* must have been a phonetic representation of a spoken word. *Ai* in the French of the present day has the sound of *é*. It is simply impossible that those who first reduced the word *daigner* to writing contrived a combination of the vowels *a* and *i* to represent a sound which could be represented by an already existing distinct symbol *e*. *Ai* in *daigner* must therefore have originally had a diphthongal sound, compounded of *a* and *i*, and the diphthongal sound must have subsequently been shortened and modified into *e*, as in what seems to be a parallel case in Sanskrit compounds like *Râmesvara* (*Râma* and *isvara*). The *gn*, or rather the *n* after the *g* (which wholly lost its sound) further came to bear a peculiar nasal sound which is no way a compound of *g* and *n*, but is akin to the Devanagari ण. After the spelling of the word *daigner* became fixed, however, although the sound changed, there was a natural tendency to stick to the spelling that had become fixed. To be able to spell the word in the old way became a mark of distinction, a line of demarcation between the well and the ill-educated. Thus, there came to be an arrested historical spelling. Had the spelling gone on adjusting itself to the changing sound, there would have been a system of spelling truly historical. Phonetic writing, therefore, would be only more historical, than that which is now spuriously called such, at the same time that it would be a blessing to mankind by enabling people to acquire spelling almost without effort, and thus sparing their brain power for other acquisitions. An innovation of so radical a character as a change of a nation's alphabet, should, we think, be the proper occasion for sweeping away a vicious system of orthography.

To return now to the subject of a universal alphabet. Looking to existing facts, it seems quite clear, that a universal alphabet must be one based on the Roman. The Roman alphabet has certain inherent merits of its own, but what is of far more importance than this is the fact that all Western-Europe—the chief seat of science, learning, and industry—uses this alphabet (the German alphabet being substantially the same as the Roman); and all

America (destined to become hereafter the most populous Quarter of the Globe) and the rising English-speaking communities in Australasia and South Africa use it, too. The Greek or Greek-derived alphabets current in the eastern half of Europe (with the exception, and that partial only, of the circumscribed territory now left to the Turks), and in the vast, though now very sparsely peopled Russian dominions in Asia, do not differ very widely again from the Roman alphabet. Every thing, therefore, points to the Roman alphabet, with necessary modifications, ultimately superseding all other forms of writing. Signs are not wanting now, that the only highly cultivated nation that does not use the Roman alphabet, *viz.*, the Germans, will in no long time, abandon the caricatures of Roman letters they now use, for the Roman letters themselves.

In making the Roman the basis of a universal alphabet, however, there can be no reason why its patent defects should be cherished and perpetuated. Reason and human happiness demand that its deficiencies should be made good by supplementary letters, in the case of languages whose sounds it cannot adequately represent, and that the superfluous symbols it has be rejected or otherwise utilised. Such obvious defects again as the existing divergence between capital letters and small letters, and between printed and script letters, ought to be got rid of. We fully recognise, with Professor Monier Williams, the utility of a contrivance which enables us 'to make a distinction between smith and Smith—brown and Brown—bath and Bath'.* What we maintain, however, is, that the difference between capital and small letters need not be wider than that between s in smith and S in Smith. Such wholly different-looking characters as b and B for one and the same sound are certainly not conducive to mental economy. In choosing between the forms of capital and small letters, there can be little hesitation which to throw overboard. The very difficulty of writing capitals medi-ally or finally led, it appears, to the invention of small letters.† Small letters are so much simpler in form, and so much more largely employed than capital letters, that to give up the latter would certainly be to work along the 'line of least resistance.' Capital letters have the advantage in respect of symmetry over small letters, in that they are all of the same height. But superior symmetry may here well be sacrificed for larger ends.

The present wide difference between printed and script letters

* Preface to Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 18. of Semitic characters appear to have owed their birth to a similar neces-

† The initial and medial forms sity.

may be reconciled. In Italics we have the connecting link between the two sets of symbols. In printing, or in the current hand, the letters need not, however, be slant, as the Italic characters are. Erect letters, shaped like Italics, would effect a full reconciliation between printing and current-hand writing; while Italic characters in their present slant forms could be reserved for the purposes they now serve.

The haphazard arrangement of letters in the Roman alphabet, though pre-eminently historical, for its origin can be traced back to even the primitive system of hieroglyphic writing,* ought likewise to be abandoned for something like the scientific arrangement of the Devanagari alphabet. The letters of the alphabet again should be named after some uniform system like that which obtains in Devanagari, and not certainly in the unsystematic English way, which in this respect contrasts very unfavorably with that of the rival nation across the Channel.

Sir William Jones initiated the method of transliteration which, with various modifications, is now employed in representing the sounds of the Sanskrit and other oriental languages. Professor Lepsius of Berlin has put forth a more ambitious system of his own which aims at being a standard universal alphabet. Missionary alphabets have been formed for representing the sounds of divers languages on the method of more than one scholar.

The adoption by common agreement of one uniform method of modifying some of the letters of the Roman alphabet for representing sounds wanting in the Latin language must be a work of time, and must require the co-operation of savans of different nationalities, assisted by competent natives of countries that are too backward yet to have savans. The Germans and the French represent the same sound by *ö* and *eu*, respectively. It is only by common concert between Germans and Frenchmen that some common modification (say—*ö*, or *ë*) of a Roman vowel letter could be made to represent the same sound in both German and French. Concert with other nations using the Roman alphabet would also be necessary in order that the same modified Roman character might not be employed to represent a different sound in some language spoken by any of those other nations.

The present writer is not ambitious of propounding such a universal scheme for modifying some of the Roman characters or adding, where necessary, to their number—a task for which he knows he is unqualified. He wants only to throw out a few suggestions for securing uniformity and accuracy in the system

* *Vide* Trübner's *Grammatography*, p. 8.

of transliteration which has, since Sir William Jones's time, been so successfully applied to Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Although he does not believe that the time has yet come for replacing the Indian alphabets by the Roman, yet the Romanisation of Indian proper names is a present necessity; and orientalists likewise do Romanise. Some tentative method of Romanisation, therefore, appears to be necessary even now.

Sanskrit is properly written in the Devanagari character, and the Devanagari system of writing is apparently phonetic. The system of transliterating Devanagari letters now generally adopted, appears to be, on the whole, very well devised. A few defects, however, call for remark. च should not by any means be represented by ch, for च stands for a simple sound and not for any combination of any sound with h. Professor Monier Williams represents च by c'. C standing for either k or s, however, would have no distinct function to perform, and would therefore be wholly superfluous. It would be best then to turn it to account by making it the equivalent of च, as indeed it has already been partially made in modern Italian. The transliteration of श and ष, either by sh both or by sh and sh' respectively, is to be reprobated for the reasons urged above in regard to च. A simple sound like that of श should have a single letter to represent it. S* with a dot below or s or ç for श, and s with a dot above for ष, would answer very fairly. Ch and sh, it may further be stated, are purely English conventions, and cannot be acceptable to continental scholars. Modification by dots above or below a letter is a thing quite familiar to Indian populations, and is therefore to be preferred to accent marks, which have long had another function assigned them. It can only cause confusion to press them into other service. On abstract grounds, independent characters would in all cases be preferable, indeed, to any dotted variations of letters. But agreement about characters to be newly coined would be harder to arrive at than about the employment of dots or other marks; and dots have been in familiar use in India and all Muhammadan countries, and been found to answer in a way. If by a concert among civilised Governments some congress of scholars and scientists were to lay down one uniform system of writing for the civilised world, the adoption of some of the existing characters of non-Roman alphabets and their adaptation to the Roman system of writing might in some cases be preferable

* The absence of proper types ics, &c., necessary.
renders these shifts and that of Ital-

to dotting, or otherwise marking, Roman letters. But till such time comes, dotting would, the present writer thinks, be the provisional arrangement that could be most easily applied. Whatever be the arrangement adopted, it is certainly desirable that that arrangement should universally prevail.

The semi-vowels *ri* and *rí*, *lri* and *lí*, and the Vedic *L*, should be represented after some uniform method. र and ङ should likewise be represented, each by an appropriate symbol.

One remark on the system of transliteration advocated by Professor Williams may not be inappropriate here. That every second and fourth letter of the five groups of Devanagari consonants is unnecessary, as representing a sound which is compounded of that of the next preceding letter and of h, was a very sound theory of Sir William Jones, who practically acted upon it in devising his system of Romanisation. Long before Sir William Jones set foot on the soil of India, however, the Muhammadan conquerors of the country had, in writing Hindustani in the Persian character, followed precisely the same method. In all likelihood, it was the Urdu system of writing that suggested the idea to Sir William Jones's mind. Professor Williams, from a misapprehension, as we conceive, of the character of the aspirate sounds, advocates the transliteration of ख by k', &c., and not by kh, &c. Mr. Beames takes the same view of the sounds of ख, घ, &c. . He says : "The aspirates, it must however be remembered, are never considered as mere combinations of an ordinary letter with h. It is quite a European idea so to treat of them ; kh is not a k-sound followed by an h, it is a k uttered with a greater effort of breath than ordinary. The native name for these aspirates is *mahâprâna*, 'great breath,' as opposed to *alpaprâna*, 'little breath' letters. The European method of speaking is used in this section as being likely to be more familiar to the reader ; but it must ever be borne in mind that the aspirate is uttered by one action of the mouth ; there is not the slightest pause or stop between the k and the h ; in fact, no native ever imagines that there is a k or an h either in the sound. The difference between खाओ 'eat' and कहाओ 'cause to say' is extremely well marked, even in the most rapid speaking."* That the idea of aspirates, being compound sounds is not quite a European idea, is conclusively proved by the shifts employed in Urdu for representing the sounds of ख, घ, &c. That

* Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India, Vol. I, pp. 264-265.

no native ever imagines that there is a *k* or an *h* in the sound of ख, is therefore not correct. Even if it were otherwise, that would by no means prove that the aspirates are simple unanalysable sounds. Devanagari has single characters for certain compound sounds, viz., ऐ, औ, क्ष and ज्ञ, representing respectively the sounds अ+इ, अ+उ, क+ष and ज+ञ. Sanskrit grammarians consider ऐ and औ as the mere lengthening of ए and ओ respectively, which is by no means a very sound theory. They do recognise, however, the fact of क्ष being क+ष, and of ज्ञ being ज+ञ, while they do not recognise ख to be a compound of क and ह. This stands certainly in need of being accounted for, and the following hypothesis is offered as a probable solution of the difficulty. It appears that when the Devanagari alphabet was first framed, there were no such characters as क्ष and ज्ञ, and that they were subsequent growths springing out of actual combinations of क and ष, and ज and ञ. The characters thus grew up, it seems, while people were fully aware that they were compound characters. That compound characters may assume shapes differing greatly from those of the original single characters out of which they have grown, is clearly proved by the Bengali characters झ, ञ, ञ, ञ and ञ, the first of which may well defy all attempt at identification with the elementary characters of which it is compounded. To return now to the aspirate sounds: they are so much more numerous in Sanskrit and Sanskrit-derived languages than in any other Aryan tongue, that it would have been very strange indeed if they had not attracted more attention among the Hindus than among the peoples of the West. Their very numerousness appears to have caused their being represented by independent symbols. If the ख sound in a language were of nearly as frequent occurrence as the क sound, it would be but natural for people who spoke that language to think that the latter sound should be represented by a symbol independent of क. Mr. Beames says very correctly that, in pronouncing the ख sound, 'there is not the slightest stop or pause between the *k* and the *h*.' That there is no pause between does not, we conceive, make the sound the less a compound sound. Is there any pause between *g* and *l* in *glad*, or between *t* and *r* in *trance*? Must not *gl* and *tr* be nevertheless recognised as distinctly compound sounds? Again, if in the word, *ant-hill*, the *t* were detached from *ant* and attached to *h* in *hill*, i.e., if the word were made *an-thill*, would there be any pause between the *t* and the *h*, and would not the

sound be the same as that of ठ? The Hindi words कचहरी and कटहर very clearly show the difference between pause and no pause. The words are respectively कच्-हरी and कट्-हर, and not क-छ [च्+ह]-री and क-ठ [ट्+ह] र्. In the words, च् and ह and ट् and ह are not in the same but in different syllables, and hence the two pairs of letters do not coalesce and form छ and ठ respectively. The illustration chosen by Mr. Beames to show that the ख sound is not a compound of that of क and ह is really an unfortunate one. "The difference between खाओ 'eat' and कहाओ 'cause to say,' is, he says, extremely well-marked," and well-marked it could not possibly fail to be, for खा is क minus the inherent अ plus हा, while कहा is क plus the inherent अ plus हा; or, to use Roman letters खा=khâ and कहा=kahâ. That such able scholars as Professor Williams and Mr. Beames should occasionally misapprehend sounds in foreign languages not found in their own is a striking proof of the difficulty of catching sounds to which one's ear and tongue have not been accustomed from infancy.

The difference between अ and आ in modern Hindi and in Bengali is not the same in character as that between इ and ई, or between उ and ऊ, i.e., is not a mere quantitative difference only. It is a qualitative difference. The same appears to have been the case also in Sanskrit. Sanskrit grammarians appear to have conventionally called आ the long form of अ, as they called ऐ and औ the long forms of ए and ओ respectively, in reference only to the phonetic laws of *Sandhi*. It appears desirable, therefore, that आ should not be represented by the addition of the same mark to a, as ई and ऊ respectively are by addition to i and u, which represent इ and उ respectively. The Sanskrit व again would be more correctly represented by the English w than by the Roman v, and for this we have the high authority of Mr. Beames, whose own language, it may be added, has the w-sound. Indeed, Mr. Beames recommends that v should be banished from every system of transliterating Indian languages. As regards h with a dot below for the Devanagari : (*visarga*), it has to be said that if it is to be appropriated to :, some other symbol must stand for the Arabic ح.

The Romanic characters required to represent the sounds of the Sanskrit language would amount to 38 only, of which five semi-vowel letters would be but of rare employment.

The Hindi language could be written with 32 or 33 symbols at most. None of the unusual Sanskrit semi-vowels would be wanted for Hindi, as also the second and third nasals and the second sibilant; but an additional symbol to represent ङ would be wanted. Another sound may be said to be in some measure struggling for naturalisation in Hindustani, viz. z. The several guttural sounds now so largely used by Urdu-speakers have no chance, we think, of being ever naturalised. The Sanskrit ष has in Hindi become ख, as in भाखा, or ह, as in पुहप and लहमी (the antecedent क in च being changed into च); ज with ज preceding has become ग्य (gy), and it does not occur in fact in genuine Hindi words with any peculiar sound of its own.

The Bengali language has a larger number of elementary vowel sounds than either Sanskrit or Hindi. The short sounds of vowels, however, Bengali generally eschews. The *a* in জল is not short like the *a* in ভাল, and the *i* in দিন is not short like the *i* in दिन. In fact, the vowel sound in জল is long, as well as the vowel sound in दिन. The latter sound is not, however, so long as the *i* in دین (dīn.) Of the Bengali vowel sounds not found in either Sanskrit or Hindi, one is a very distinct one, viz., that of এ in এক, corresponding to that of *a* in *mad*. The other sounds are not so distinct, and are therefore very difficult for foreigners to catch. These are the vowel sounds in ডাল (pulse) as opposed to ডাল (branch); in মেজে (floor) as opposed to মেজে (on table); in কোলে (a family name among Kaibartas) as opposed to কোলে (on lap). These additional vowel sounds would require additional Romanic symbols to represent them. Dotting the vowel letters e, a, e and o, may answer for want of a better means. It appears very undesirable that in Hindi, Bengali and other living languages the mark indicating the lengthening of a vowel sound should be employed in the current hand, in which time is of great value. If quantitative marks are to be employed, again, two marks instead of one, would be often necessary, to distinguish, for instance, the long vowel sound in دین from what may be called the middle sound in दिन. Quantitative marks may, therefore, be reserved exclusively for printing or, better still, for children's books and pronouncing dictionaries.

The consonants in Bengali would be the same as in Hindi, with a few exceptions only. ব is a sound altogether wanting in

the former language. Certain Bengali dialects have, on the other hand, the *z* sound, which is often used even by many of those who speak the metropolitan dialect, as in pronouncing the word কাত; and East-Bengal people use a sound intermediate between চ (as pronounced in W. Bengal) and স (s), as in pronouncing the word পাচ (পাঁচ). This sound of চ is not wanting in the metropolitan dialect of Bengali either. The চ in পাঁচ-টাকা and গাচ-তলা has this sound. চ followed by ট or ত undergoes this change of sound. A new character for this sound would therefore be wanted, and it may be framed by dotting c below. The s sound is very rare in Bengali, occurring only with that of r or t (ত) following. R in fact in combination even with শ (sh) compels the latter to change itself into স (s), श्री श्री in Bengali, for instance, being pronounced sri, and never shri. When occurring singly, ষ is no way distinguishable from শ or স in sound. The ষ in ক্ষ has become kh, and ক্, kkh, except when occurring initially, in which case it has the sound of kh only. The ঞ sound has become ' (m) as in অজ্ঞ, and in জ্ঞান it has even ceased to have a nasal sound; which last has been the case likewise in Hindi. In other cases ঞ has acquired the sound of ন (n) as in গজ্ঞ or পজ্ঞিকা. The letter ঞ is therefore altogether unnecessary, and needs therefore no distinct Romanic symbol for its representation.

Certain other peculiarities in the Bengali graphic system need here be pointed out. In combination with ক, জ, ত, দ, ন, ল, শ and স preceding, ব only duplicates the sounds of the letters with which it is combined. With দ preceding ম also duplicates the sound of দ: but the influence of purists has caused a nasal sound to be introduced in words with দ্ব, &c. পদ্ম and ভাস্ম are in current spoken Bengali paddo and bhashsho, but in our schools they are paddam and bhashsham. ষ is pronounced either shta or shtam. The latter pronunciation is due to puristic influence apparently. The Hon'ble Kristodas Pal spells his name in accordance with the normal Bengali pronunciation of ষ in কৃষ, except that the sh sound is anglicised into s. The proper Bengali word corresponding to কৃষ is, however, Keshto; but the written word is always কৃষ, and is, ordinarily, pronounced Krishto. Purists pronounce কৃষ as Krishtam or even Krishtyam.*

It will appear from the above that the Bengali system of writing is not nearly so phonetic as the Sanskrit and the Hindi systems are. In transcribing Bengali words in the Roman

* The Bengali ষ appears to be a compound of ষ and ঞ, and not of ষ and ঞ. The appendage of the charac-

ter ষ appears to point to ঞ and noway to ঞ, and so to the substitution of one nasal letter for another.

character, therefore, the great question is whether the Bengali characters, simple and compound, are to be taken merely as the exact equivalents of the parent Devanagari characters, and transliterated by means of the same symbols; or the powers of the Bengali characters, wherein they differ from their Devanagari parents, are to be recognised, and a modified scheme of symbolisation adopted accordingly? What we have already said will have made our view on the subject sufficiently clear to the reader, we trust. We are certainly not for writing words in Sanskrit and in Bengali alike, while we continue to pronounce them in widely divergent ways. We are decidedly in favour of recognising the established conventions of Bengali alphabetic writing and of phonetically representing in the Roman character the sounds those conventional symbols convey. We would, for instance, write শিবচরণ not *Sivacarana* or *Sivcaran*, but *Sibcaron*, differentiating thus the Bengali name from the corresponding S. *Sivacarana* and the H. *Sincaran*. This, indeed, would be an innovation of a radical character, at which purists of all colours and degrees would stand aghast. We nevertheless maintain that the necessity is by no means clear to us of any system of transliteration which would cast in the same Sanskrit mould all such cognate words in Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, and other Sanskrit-derived languages, as continue to be written with either the same or with analogous symbols, though pronounced very differently from one another. We think it very undesirable that the difference, for instance, between the Bengali *bhashsha* (or *bhashsham*) the Hindi *bhasam* and the Sanskrit *bhasma* should be all obliterated in writing in the Roman character. Such Romanisation would have all the disadvantages of the historical system without being historical. Round the historical, national system of writing, clings many a dear old association. Love of country and race and of old inherited institutions—the natural attachment of the human heart to things that long have been—all combine to uphold the current system of writing. We are no enemies of change, no clingers to national traditions that would keep us isolated from the rest of the civilised world. We would only insist that no portion of our traditions, to quote the sentiments and in part the words of our truly noble Viceroy, be supplanted, except by something demonstrably better,* and Romanisation of the above sort is certainly not such.

Mr. J. F. Browne has recently come forward as an enthusiastic champion of the transliteration of Bengali by Roman letters. Mr. Browne wishes our countrymen well, and earnestly believes that the change he advocates would do them good. We are very thankful to Mr. Browne for his good

* Lord Ripon's speech at the Simla Patriotic Fund Meeting.

intentions. Nevertheless we must declare our belief that his attempt is premature, his system very faulty, and his project altogether doomed to inevitable failure. His attempt, we believe, to be premature for the following reasons :—If England, France, Germany and Italy, with all their culture and progressiveness cannot be made to adopt a common system of sound-representation, although the characters these nations use are the same or substantially the same, can it be for a moment believed that Indians, with all their ignorance and their dogged conservatism, would readily give up their traditional systems of writing for one wholly different from them? The fact, again, that the movement proceeds from a foreigner, and he of the conquering English race, must necessarily evoke a large amount of hostile sentiment, and the more so because the English ‘abuse’ of the Roman alphabet is a patent fact. The necessary preliminary to inducing Indians and other oriental peoples to adopt a system of writing that would bring them into closer communion with the West must be, we conceive, a “European concert” in the matter of spelling. Till such concert is attained, enthusiasm about a universal system of spelling should appropriately confine itself to reducing to one uniform standard of writing hitherto unwritten languages. One should first set one’s own house in order before one seeks to introduce order abroad. Europe with her offshoots in America and elsewhere must come to a mutual understanding in the matter of spelling, before any attempt is made to change the alphabets of nations out of Europe and of non-European origin.

We have called Mr. Browne’s system very faulty,* and we have, we think, ample reasons for this. We state them briefly below :—

Mr. Browne is in some respects a purist. First he is a purist in so far as he uses the Roman alphabet, almost pure and simple. The only non-Roman symbols that he uses are the English w and the á of scholars. All distinction between such distinct sounds as ট (ট) and ত (ত), ড (ড), and দ (দ), and ভ (ভ) and র (র) he practically abolishes by writing the above three pairs of sounds by t, d and r respectively. The apparent reason for this strange procedure is that the Roman alphabet has no distinct symbols that could stand for ট (ট) as distinct from ত (ত), and for দ (দ) and ড (ড). An ungenerous critic might even think that Mr. Browne’s scheme has been purposely devised for facilitating the acquisition of Bengali by

* This paper was written in October last, since which Mr. Browne has, with the co-operation of the Roman-Aksara Sabha established by him, introduced several modifications into his scheme. Portions of the detailed criticism of the scheme have there-

fore lost their force. But as the greater part of the main positions taken up in this paper yet remain quite unaffected by the modifications adopted, the whole of the criticism is allowed to stand unaltered.

Englishmen, without much thought about the natives of the country or the sounds they utter. The English tongue refuses to utter the ত (ত) and দ (দ) sounds, and to Englishmen it would be an extremely convenient thing if ট (ট) and ড (ড) were represented alike, as also ড (ড) and দ (দ). The ড (ড) sound cannot perhaps be said to be wholly alien to the genius of English, for a closely allied sound at any rate occurs medially with that of d following, as in *bird* and certain other words. But Englishmen are incapable of pronouncing this sound at least initially. One common symbol for both ড (ড) and র (র) would thus likewise be an advantage to Englishmen learning Bengali, though only a source of tremendous confusion to Bengalis. We, for ourselves, would not be so perversely ungenerous as to impute any unworthy motive like the above to Mr. Browne in doing away with ত (ত), দ (দ) and ড (ড). We ascribe the excision to what we conceive to be his puristic proclivities and his desire for simplicity.

Mr. Browne is a purist not in respect of his alphabet simply. He is a purist also in respect of words of Persian and Arabic origin. He is doubtless an Urdu scholar, and either his love for this language, which he may have known longer than Bengali, or his desire to bring about a uniformity of spelling between cognate words in Urdu and Bengali, has induced him to propose a purist method of spelling Persian and Arabic words that have been greatly altered in the process of naturalisation in Bengali. In support of our position, we annex below a number of words as transliterated by Mr. Browne in his *Transliterated List of Selected Bengali Words*. We might, if we chose, largely swell up the list. In some cases, in which an Urdu air has been thrown by Mr. Browne on Bengali words, even as he gives them in Bengali character, we give the corresponding ordinary forms of the words within parantheses :—

কেতাব Kitáb.
খাস Khass.
খেলাফ (খেলাপ) Khiláf.
খোদকস্তা Khudkásht.
খোদাবন্দ Khudáwand.
গরম Garm.
গুলাব (গোলাপ) Guláb.
গোশত (গোস্ত) Gosht.
গোনা Ghussá.
চিরাগ (চেরাগ) Chirágh.
জবাব Jawwáb.
জোলাব (জোলাপ) Julláb.
নাচার Láchár.

নাচারী Láchári
মাক্কি Muwáfik.
মামলা Muámilá.
মিহনত (মেহনৎ) Mihnát.
মেক, মেকী Mekh, Mekhí.
মোহাক্কেজ Muhafiz.
বাজার Bazar.
বাজে খরচ Báze-Kharch.
বাহবা Wáh Wáh.
লাখরাজ Lákhiráj.
শওক (শক) Shauq.
হক Haqq.

In Mr. Browne's transliterated list, বাগ and বাগান are transliterated bág and bágán respectively; but this appears to be the result of accident merely, for বাগিচা is transcribed again bágichá, the gh standing for the Arabic غ. Gh for غ occurs besides in ghussá and chirágh.

In transcribing Bengali *Tatsama* words *i. e.*, words written analogously with the corresponding parent Sanskrit words, Mr. Browne follows the usual method of transliterating Sanskrit. No special blame can attach to him for this, to be sure. But it must be said of the system that it can tend only to perpetuate the corrupt pronunciation of Sanskrit that now prevails in Bengal, and stands in urgent need of reformation.

A synoptical view is given below of the principal defects of the scheme of transliteration by which Mr. Browne aims at supplanting the Bengali system of writing:—

1. Non-phonetic conventions common to Mr. Browne's and the Bengali system of writing.

(i) a and অ (the inherent অ as well) for the sound of o, as in অদা and শত্রু.

(ii) e and এ for the sound of এ in এক = that of a in mad.

(iii) m (in tm, dm, shm) and ম (in আ, দ্ব and ঞ) for ৮ (m) with a reduplication of the preceding consonant, as in আআ, পদ্ব, &c.

(iv) ay and inherent অ + য় for ae, as in হয়.

(v) ya and য় for reduplication of the preceding consonant, as in লভ্য.

(vi) yá and য় for reduplication of the preceding consonant + the sound of এ in এক, as in বিদ্যা.

(vii) ra and র় for reduplication of the preceding consonant with the ra (র) sound following as in মিত্র.

(viii) v (in tva, dva, &c.) and ব (in ভ, দ্ব &c.) for reduplication of the preceding vowel, as in উপস্থ.

2. Non-phonetic symbols peculiar to Mr. Browne's system.

(i) ksh for ক্ষ which in Bengali is called খ্য (khyá) and has the sound of *Kkh* medially and finally, and that of *kh* initially. ক্ষ is non-phonetic only to the extent that the য় of its name represents the reduplication of the k sound in খ. Ksh for kkh or kh would, however, be a purely non-phonetic convention.

(ii) jn for জ, which in Bengali is called গ্য (gmyá). The য় of the name of the letter represents, as in the above case, the reduplication of the preceding consonant, and জ, like ক্ষ, is thus non-phonetic only in regard to the য় of its name.

(iii) m for ম as well as for ম.

(iv) n for ণ, ঞ ৮ and ন. ঞ in Bengali is called ম্যা which

is not a simple sound. Sometimes, as in য়াচঞ, ঞ acquires the sound of ng. Nothing is said here of ঞ, because in Bengali this so-called cerebral letter differs in sound nowise from ন. The character ঞ is therefore absolutely unnecessary. Mr. Browne would also represent the Devanagari ञ by n. The one letter n is thus made to stand for all the Sanskrit nasals, only म and the anuswara being excepted, which, by the way, have both been transcribed by m. The Bengali anuswara pronounced ঔ has, however, been rendered by ng, as in নিংড়াইতে=ningráite.

(v) l for n as in লাচার, লাচারী, transliterated láchár, láchári, respectively. This may be a mere oversight, however; though Mr. Browne's thorough-going purism makes one suspect that his object may be that people should eventually discard in pronunciation, then for the l sound.

(vi) shn for ঞ, which in Bengali is called ঞ and is pronounced the same or as ঞ only. The Bengali ঞ, when pronounced ঞ after its name, is a purely phonetic symbol.

(vii) v for ব (a sound altogether wanting in Bengali).

(viii) s for স which, as well as শ and ষ, are called sha in Bengali and pronounced the same.

(ix) sn for স্ন, pronounced in Bengali st (except by purists), as in স্নান.

(x) sh for the s sound in ঞ which, though written with শ is pronounced srī, thereby clearly demonstrating that শ and স in Bengali are but different symbols for the same sound. স minus the inherent অ plus r has the sound of sr too, as in স্রোত.

(xi) q for ক in the case of words from Arabic with the guttural ق sound.—কএদ, কজা, কয়না, কাজী, সিন্দুক, বন্দুক, কিকির, are some of the words spelt by Mr. Browne with q for ক.

(xii) z for জ in words of Persian or Arabic origin having the z sound in those languages.

(xiii) ss for স (sound sh), as in খাস=Kháss.

(xiv) w for ব, as in জবাব=Jawwáb.

3. Capital letters and small letters very materially differing for the most part in shape from one another, and one set of characters for writing and another, materially different, for printing.

For this last, indeed, the Latin graphic system altogether, and not Mr. Browne, is responsible. Nevertheless, this is a point of inferiority to the Devanagari and Bengali writing systems, which have no capitals and small letters, and in which the printed character is the standard after which script characters are formed; though of course the current hand, under the necessity of fast writing, rounds off the letters and joins them on, one to another, in a fashion that would be out of place in printing. Indeed, no current

hand can, or need be either, exactly like printing. In English, for instance, how widely do the hand writings of different individuals differ from one another and from the recognised printed forms of script characters. The current hand in Bengali does not differ more widely from the printed characters than do English script characters, as actually written, from what they are as printed. That there is in Bengali no recognised current hand distinct from printed characters, is then a decided point of superiority over the Roman system.

The absence of any such convention as the inherent *a*; of any difference of form between vowels forming syllables by themselves and vowels uniting with consonants to form syllables; of anything like the nexus system of writing prevailing in India, by which letters are placed one below another to form compound characters (the counterparts of which are to be found only in the Latin diphthongal compounds *æ* and *œ*) and, as a consequence, of no difference of form in letters when standing by themselves and when united with other letters, are distinctive merits of the Latin graphic system, to which may be added simplicity and symmetry of form. Mr. Browne's scheme has of course all these recommendations. The defects, however, of the scheme, on the whole, so greatly outweigh its merits, that any supersession of the Bengali alphabet by the Roman as applied by Mr. Browne, we should regard as a national misfortune, for it would be a step backwards, a supersession of a more phonetic by a less phonetic system of writing. It would be a change again—a revolution that would have to be set right by another revolution in future.

We have hinted above that Romanisation would be a help to the acquisition of Indian languages by Englishmen; conversely also it would help the acquisition of English by natives of India. We would indeed gladly welcome anything that would tend to draw the bonds closer between Englishmen and the subject-races of India. We would not indeed go the length of demanding, as a measure of reciprocity, that in return for our adoption of the Roman alphabet, Englishmen should change their present chaotic graphic system for a phonetic one, in order that the thousands of Indians who have to learn English might learn it with less trouble than at present. It would be, however, less unreasonable to wish that, as any change in the English system of writing must be mainly determined by considerations of the convenience and happiness of English-speaking populations, so any change in the Bengali graphic system should be mainly determined by considerations of the convenience and happiness of Bengalis. It is only because we cannot believe that this convenience and

happiness would be better secured by the adoption of Mr. Browne's scheme than by the current Bengali system of writing that we cannot wish this scheme success. Yet in re-opening the question of Romanisation, Mr. Browne has done good service, it may be said,—has contributed towards the formation of a public opinion in favour of India's entrance into an eventual *Alphabet Union*.

In conclusion, we have to say that a phonetic alphabet based on the Roman we wish to have for the sake of purely Indian, as well as of wider cosmopolitan, interests. The multiplicity of alphabets prevalent in India is in some measure a bar to extended intercourse among natives of different parts of the country; and these alphabets can be swept away by a modified Roman alphabet alone, and by no other.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

ART. VI.—THE FAMINE COMMISSION ON TENANT
RIGHT IN UPPER INDIA.

(Independent Section.)

THE report of the Indian Famine Commission is, on the whole, a somewhat disappointing document. The most valuable portion of its contents is probably the chapter devoted to "The Relation of Landlord and Tenant in Northern India," and this is mixed up with so much matter of inferior interest as to be in danger of attracting less notice than it deserves. It may, therefore, be worth while to draw attention to the utterances of the Commission on this, the most important of the many serious questions which are now demanding solution at the hands of the Government of India. They raise the same fundamental problems of which we have lately heard so much in Ireland, and of which, unless we are wise in time, we shall yet hear a great deal more in India.

The remarks with which the Commission enter on the subject and clear the ground for their practical proposals are all that any reasonable Indian land-reformer could desire. Nothing, for instance, could be more satisfactory than the following paragraph, which may be quoted entire without any apology :—

"The character of the tenure, as affecting the rights and general position of the occupants of the soil, is of more vital importance in India than in countries where there are other fields of employment for the masses of the population, to which, if unable to earn a fair subsistence as tenants, they can turn for the means of livelihood and the opportunities of acquiring wealth. In India the rural population is, for the present, at any rate, bound to the soil and precluded by the general conditions of its existence from seeking in other forms of employment an escape from any hardships and oppressions to which it may be exposed by the existing system of tenure. A consideration of this fact, of the vast numbers of the persons concerned, and, what is of equal importance, of the general recognition of a limited right in the land as inherent in large classes of tenants, renders it impossible for the State, as the guardian of the common interests of the community, to leave the mutual relations of the payers and receivers of rent to adjust themselves by competition and the ordinary rules which govern commercial contracts."

It is something gained to have it, thus put on record by such high authority that unrestricted competition cannot be allowed

to regulate the status of landlord and tenant. The obvious reason for this is that unrestricted competition is a fair determining principle for economic rents alone, *i.e.*, for rents limited by the necessity of leaving the cultivator a profit sufficient to deter him from abandoning agriculture for some other pursuit. The rents paid by Indian ryots are not thus limited, for there is no other employment open to them. Therefore, their rents are not economic rents at all, and must be limited by law, not abandoned to competition, unless those who pay them are to degenerate into cottiers of the most degraded type. If this principle is accepted and carried out in its integrity, there is still room to hope that the Indian peasant, in the vivid words of Lamennais, "*relevé de sa longue déchéance, cessera de trainer avec douleur ses chaînes héréditaires, d'être un pur instrument de travail, une simple matière exploitable.*"

The report proceeds to sketch, in a way that leaves little to be desired, the origin of tenant right in India. "It has always," to quote words of which the authority would be weakened by condensation or paraphrase, "been an accepted principle in India that the occupant of the soil is entitled to remain there from generation to generation, provided he pays the portion of the produce demanded of him by Government, or by some superior holder or landlord, and this proportion has generally been fixed by local custom."

Exactly so; that is the common law of India which, often violated in practice, has always been-accepted in theory by every ruler of Hindustan till within the last twenty years, and which, overlaid though it be by a mass of modern legislation, still survives in the conscience of the Indian people of whatever rank or grade. There is not a peasant who does not in his heart, whatever he might say in a court of justice when confronted with a powerful adversary, believe himself entitled to retain his land from generation to generation so long as he pays a fair rent for it; nor is there a landlord who would not, in any case where he was not personally interested to the contrary, admit the justice of the claim. Where the local custom by which the proportion of produce payable as rent was fixed, has decayed or become ineffectual from the introduction of the dissolvent principle of contract and commutation of grain to cash rents, its place can only be supplied by fixation of rents on the authority of Government officers. That this was the view taken by the Court of Directors towards the end of the last century is evident from their despatch to Lord Cornwallis sanctioning the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, which affirmed their duty and their intention to take care that the cultivator was not dispossessed of the land he

occupied, and that his rent was not "left to the arbitrary determination of the zemindar." How ill the obligation thus clearly admitted has been discharged is matter of history. Is it not written in the chronicles of Behar? But the duty, though neglected, remains a duty still, and no Government has a right to plead its own *lâches* in bar of the demand for reform.

In 1819 the Court of Directors wrote that, "consequences the most injurious to the rights and interests of individuals had arisen from describing those with whom the Permanent Settlement was concluded as *the actual proprietors of the land*."

This mistake, coupled with the custom to which it gave rise, of designating the sums realised from the ryots by the zemindars as "rent," instead of as "revenue," had "introduced confusion into the whole system of tenures . . . and given a specious colour to the pretensions of the zemindars in acting as if they were, in the ordinary sense of the words, proprietors of the land, and as if the ryots had no permanent interest but what they derived from them." The very Regulation (I. of 1793) by which the rights of the zemindars were created contained a proviso that, "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent taluqdars,* ryots and other cultivators of the soil;" and no objection made on this ground by any zemindar to his assessment was to be valid. As for the present state of the tenant question in Bengal, there having been no field survey and no record of village rights in that province, the respective numbers of ryots with and without a right of occupancy, and the average areas of their holdings, are unknown quantities. It must suffice to say that there are some ten millions of tenants, of whom more than six millions pay rents of less than five rupees each, from which it may be inferred that their holdings cannot exceed three acres a piece, and that in Behar, especially, illegal cesses, illegal distraint, and illegal enhancement of rent are rife.

The right of the cultivator to protection, or, to be more accurate, the duty of the ruling power to protect him, which had been thus asserted but neglected in Bengal, was to some extent reduced to practise in the North-West Provinces. In this new field, which came under British rule at the beginning of the present

* The term *talukdar* means in especially in Oudh, it denotes a large Bengal a petty sub-proprietor; in landholder. the North-West Provinces, and more

century, the Government protested less but did more. At the first regular settlements (1822-1833) the settlement officers drew up rent-rolls for each village, fixing the rent of every resident cultivator which, it was understood, were not to be enhanced during the term of settlement, fixed usually for thirty years. No objections appear to have been made to this measure by the zemindars, who naturally regarded it in its real light as a matter of administrative detail, which it was of course within the competence of the Government to carry out. Excellent as this arrangement was, however, it was unhappily allowed to fall into desuetude. The fatal habit which has cost us so dear in India, of looking at all agricultural questions from the point of view of an English landlord, though it had been overcome for a time, gradually reasserted itself, and the zemindar came to be looked upon as an absolute proprietor, and his cultivators as mere tenants-at-will.

With a view probably to remedying this state of things, Act X of 1859 was introduced, which, however, established a most pernicious distinction, of which the evil effects are in full force to this day, between tenants with a right of occupancy and tenants-at-will. The former category included all who had held, or should hereafter hold, the same fields for twelve years continuously; all others were relegated to the latter. This mischievous principle survives in the North-West Provinces Rent Act of 1873, and 31 per cent. of the cultivated area is now occupied by some 1,200,000 tenants-at-will, and 41 per cent. by 1,500,000 occupancy tenants, the remaining 28 per cent. being in the direct cultivation of the proprietors.

The average area of the holdings of tenants-at-will is four acres; that of the occupancy holdings 4·8 acres.

In the Punjab the fortunes of tenant right followed a course somewhat similar to that which they had run in the North-West Provinces. At first occupation all cultivators of any standing were declared to be possessed of a right of occupancy. But in process of time the numbers of those enjoying it were gradually diminished by the operation of the courts; and in 1868 the conditions under which an occupancy right was maintainable were defined in such a way that at present tenants-at-will number about 1,100 000, with average holdings of 5·9 acres, as against 540,000 holdings, averaging 6½ acres, in possession of occupancy tenants.

There are no rules in force under which the right can be acquired in future.

In Oudh, the province from which we have taken more and to which we have given less than any other in India, the tenant-

right question was threshed out to the uttermost, but on issues so stated that the victory of the landlord or taluqdári party was inevitable. It was never treated as a matter of policy at all, and the enquiry was directed to ascertaining whether cultivators, pure and simple, had, under native rule, a right of occupancy which they could enforce in opposition to their landlords.

To such a question there could of course be only one answer.

Under the later kings of Oudh no uninfluential man could enforce any right whatever against a powerful opponent, and the cultivator's right to retain his holding was no exception to the rule. It needed no elaborate investigation, carried on for several weeks in nine districts simultaneously, to tell us this.

The result of the manner in which the question was dealt with is that in Oudh there are now some 2,000,000 tenants, of whom perhaps one in a hundred, at a liberal estimate, possesses a very weak form of tenant-right, under rules to which the taluqdars agreed in return for a modification, very much in their favour, of the rules of sub-settlement, and the abolition of all previously existing orders regarding tenant-right, under which, somewhat vague and confused though they were, the cultivators had, as a body, enjoyed a very substantial degree of security.

The average area of the plots occupied by these 2,000,000 tenants is only 3·1 acres. The rent of the few who "enjoy a right of occupancy" is supposed to be less by 2 as. in the rupee, or 12½ per cent. than that of ordinary tenants, and is liable to enhancement once in every five years.

In the Central Provinces, tenants are of three classes—(1) "absolute occupants" of 149,717 holdings, averaging 19½ acres each; (2) "conditional occupants" of 121,807 holdings of, on an average, 15½ acres; and (3) 469,031 tenants-at-will, whose holdings average 14 acres each. This large average area of farms, taken together with a Government demand of which the incidence is little more than nine-pence per cultivated acre, at once indicates that the cultivator in these regions ought to be a comparatively happy man, as there is reason to believe he is. The law of landlord and tenant, too, is more favourable to the unprivileged tenant than elsewhere. He cannot only claim compensation for improvements, but also protection from arbitrary ejectment if he has resided five years in a village, and has not received assistance in cultivation from the landlord within three years. He has thus a better chance of developing into an occupancy tenant, though the limitation as to time, and still more that regarding "assistance," are but too likely to give rise to disputes and litigation in which the cultivator, as usual, will have the worst of it.

Such being, roughly speaking, the status of the cultivating body of Hindustan, let us see what the Famine Commissioners think of it, and what they have to propose for its amelioration.

"Although," they write, "the intention of the legislation of recent years has clearly been to define and protect the rights of tenants, it is proved by the evidence before us that the effect produced has been very different from the object aimed at. From all quarters it is reported that the relations between the landlord and the tenants with occupancy rights are not in a satisfactory state, and are becoming yearly more and more hostile ; so much so that a landlord will generally refuse any aid to his occupancy tenants when they are in difficulties, and will do all that he can to ruin them and drive them off the land.....The fact that such rights are in constant course of accrual frequently results in an equally constant series of efforts on the landlord's part to prevent such accrual taking place. When it has been effected, the landlord's object is to harass the tenant, and to diminish the value of his occupancy rights by bringing suit after suit for enhancement of the rent. The probable result of such a struggle is in favour of the more powerful combatant, and there is reason to fear that in many parts of the country the occupancy rights have been irretrievably impaired, and the point to which the efforts of Government should be directed is, therefore, to remove this conflict of interests."

After dwelling on evils, such as illegal exactions, illegal distraint, and the extortions of rent-contractors or *thekadárs*, which they seem to think peculiar to Bengal, but which are in fact prevalent also in Oudh, if not elsewhere, the Commissioners proceed to state that they "feel no doubt that in all the provinces of Northern India.....it is the duty of the Government to make the provisions of the law more effectual for the protection of the cultivators' rights."

The measures by which they propose that the condition of the tenantry should be improved are briefly these :—

1. That the rents of privileged tenants should be fixed by settlement officers, at the same time that they assess the revenue, and that such rents should not be liable to enhancement during the term of settlement. In Bengal, where the land revenue is permanently settled, they would allow rents to be enhanced once in every thirty years.

2. That the presumption of law should be that all tenants who have resided and cultivated in a village for twelve years have a right of occupancy in their fields, unless the landlord can prove the tenancy to be of a different kind, originating in an express contract.

3. That the power of ejectment for arrears of rent be limited by legal provisions empowering the courts to grant suspensions of the rent demand on reasonable cause being shown; and also, in cases where ejectment is carried out, to ascertain the value of the tenant's beneficial interest in his holding, with a view to deducting the amount of that value from the arrear of rent due, or of awarding the surplus, if any, to the tenant. The principle of this proposal is identical with that of the compensation for Disturbance Bill.

4. That the power to mortgage and sell occupancy rights should be legalised, wherever it exists in practice, or may hereafter come to exist.

5. That sub-letting by tenants should be prohibited.

6. That tenants-at-will should be allowed to purchase a right of occupancy by the payment to the landlord, by instalments, of a sum equivalent to the capitalised value of the "annual amount which the landlord gains by the tenant not possessing occupancy rights," such sum to be estimated "either in the form of a rate per acre occupied, or a percentage on the rent paid."

The remaining proposals of the Commission relate chiefly to the need of strict supervision and vigorous initiative on the part of Government officers to prevent illegal exactions on the part of landlords*; the necessity of a field survey in Bengal; and the creation of a body of village accountants, or *patwaris*, in the same province.

With regard to the propriety of proposals 2, 3 and 5, there appears to be no room for doubt, but concerning proposals 1, 4 and 6, a few words seem called for.

The fundamental objection to proposals 1 and 6, which may, for the sake of convenience, be taken together, is that they accept the fatal and invidious distinction, drawn for the first time by Act X. of 1859 in the North-West Provinces, and subsequently adopted elsewhere, between tenants with a right of occupancy and tenants-at-will. Until that distinction is abrogated, the position of great masses of the agricultural population will always be unsatisfactory, not to say hopeless. The distinction itself was entirely arbitrary, and rested on no principle of justice, abstract or historic. A "cold

* The need of this warning is aptly illustrated by the following "new way to pay old debts," which casually came to my notice a year or two ago in the course of a rent suit. A large but embarrassed landlord hit on the ingenious device of imposing a cess of Rs. 2 on every plough in his estate, explaining to the cultivators

that they were admitted to the dignity of being made sharers in his debts (*Sharik-i-Qarza*)! Another large (and unembarrassed) landlord levies, or used to levy, a cess from his lessees for the support of a well-known charitable institution associated with his name.

spurt" of the legislative pen made it, and a stroke of that redoubtable instrument can unmake it. The legal existence of such a person as a tenant-at-will ought not to be tolerated by the Government of India in any corner of its dominions. There should not be a single cultivator in British India, with a tenure depending solely on the arbitrary will of an interested individual, zemindar, taluqdar, or by whatever name he may be known. It must be recognized as a historic truth, and acted on as a political necessity, that the Government of India, Hindu, Mughal, or British, is part proprietor of the soil, and, as such, has an inalienable right to a voice in every disputed question of transfer of its occupation or possession; and no *bonâ fide* cultivator should be liable to eviction from home and field unless the Government, in the person of a Rent Court Judge, is satisfied that he has done something to forfeit his *primâ facie* right to be maintained in possession. The scheme for enabling a tenant-at-will to purchase a right of occupancy (which seems to have been suggested by Mr. Longfield's proposal, in his paper on Irish Land Tenure in the Cobden Club Essays, for the creation of "Parliamentary Tenant Right,") ingenious and well-meaning though it be, appears somewhat beside the mark. It mixes up two things—security of tenure, and reduction of rent. For enabling the tenant to obtain the latter, it might be useful if it could be got to work. But the former should be given, or rather restored to the tenant by the mere act of the ruling power. It is not fair that he should be called on to buy back a right of which he was deprived by the State in favour of his landlord some twenty years ago. To restore the right now would be merely an act of tardy justice, of which experience has proved the necessity. It would not deprive any landlord of a single farthing of the income which he at present enjoys, and no landlord would be entitled to any compensation for it. Did any one propose to compensate the cultivators whom Act X. of 1859 in the North-West Provinces, or Act XIX. of 1868 in Oudh deprived of their security of tenure? There is much to be said, in favour of respecting property as it exists, whatever the abuses in which it originated, or by which it reached its present dimensions. But this is very different from maintaining that abuses should be permitted to continue unchecked in future, for fear that those who have hitherto profited by them should find their gains restricted. No class can be deemed entitled to compensation for the repeal of a statute which has been some twenty years mistakenly allowed to interfere with the just and beneficent intention of the immemorial common law of India and the express declarations of the Court of Directors and Lord Cornwallis.

The ideal solution of the tenant question in Upper India would

probably be that the settlement officer should, as part of his duty preliminary to imposing a new assessment, do for every tenant what the Commissioners propose that he should do for privileged tenants only,—fix the rents which he is to pay for the term of settlement, and base his assessment on the rent-rolls thus framed. He would, of course, adhere, as a general rule, to the *status quo*, and the rents actually paid, except where they were obviously oppressive and extortionate on the one hand, or absurdly and causelessly light on the other, would be declared payable in future. So long as the rent thus fixed was paid, no resident tenant should be liable to ejectment, whatever his standing in the village. Provision might, of course, be made for enabling a landlord to resume land required for building or any other *bonâ fide* useful purpose, on condition of the occupant of the fields so resumed being compensated either in money or in land, as might be agreed upon. As a temporary expedient, until revision of rent-roll by settlement officers could be carried out, it might be at once enacted that henceforth no tenant should be liable to ejectment for any other cause than failure to pay the rent which he had agreed to pay, or refusal to agree to a fair rent for the future, the amount of such rent to be settled by the Court on the spot if possible, otherwise after local enquiry. Such orders should be open to revision, but not to appeal, and only experienced officers should be authorised to pass them.

The boon of security thus conferred on the whole body of cultivators would be invaluable, and the amount of harassing litigation prevented immense. The landlord would no longer be tempted, as at present, "to do all he can to ruin his occupancy tenants and to drive them off the land," for he would no longer be able to supplant them by tenants-at will whom he could squeeze at pleasure. Whether or no Indian landlords are an extortionate class—and I am glad to say I have known some who are not—the mere fact of their having the power to extort is enough to hinder agricultural improvement. Authority to enhance rents and evict tenants at pleasure cannot, in India at any rate, where eviction is often, even more literally than in Ireland, equivalent to sentence of death, be entrusted to any individual who, however benevolent and enlightened he may be, has a personal interest in the matter, still less to any body of interested individuals, of whom a considerable number are necessarily neither benevolent nor enlightened. The best landlord, moreover, is no more immortal than the worst, and can give no security that his heir shall not turn out a spendthrift and a tyrant. Therefore, because, we will not do the landlords the wrong to mistrust any of their number, let us do the cultivator the right to trust none of

them—so far as the power to rackrent and evict at pleasure is concerned. It may well be doubted whether any serious resistance on the part of the landowning classes would be offered to the introduction of universal tenant-right, especially if such a measure were coupled with a prolongation of the term of settlement. While these pages were being penned, I received a letter from a wealthy and intelligent taluqdar, in which he writes:—

“With regard to occupancy rights, I think if Government makes a permanent settlement with the taluqdars, it would not be difficult to induce them to make the same arrangement with their tenants. At the same time, I think tenants who reside in the estate of one landlord and cultivate in that of the other should not be allowed the right of occupancy.”

From this to the conclusion, that rents of resident tenants should be fixed for the term of settlement, whatever that may be, does not seem a very long step.

But whether the opposition of the proprietary classes be great or small, security of tenure and fixity of rent will sooner or later have to be introduced, and the longer the delay, the greater will be the difficulty. The only way out of the miserable imbroglio of rackrenting and eviction, of suits for enhancement and claims for compensation, into which the fatal tendency to engraft the worst outgrowths of our English social economy on the Indian rural system, has involved, and is more and more deeply involving, us, is to revert to the fundamental principle underlying all Asiatic politics, the duty of the ruling power to protect the cultivator from exaction; and by abolishing the unjustifiable distinction between occupancy tenants and tenants-at-will, restore the latter to the birthright from which they have been wrongfully excluded.

The course of events in Ireland during the last forty years should surely have taught us the folly and the danger of neglecting the demand for reform until it swells into a cry for revolution. If the just claims for valuation of rents and fixity of tenure which were put forward by O'Connell, had been satisfied, England would not in our own day have been confronted by the land league with its cry for the extirpation of landlords under penalty of civil war. The cultivators are quiescent enough now, to all appearance, over the greater part of Hindústán, but, if there be any truth in history, oppression will not be quietly endured for ever. If the ryot is not to be protected from rackrenting and capricious ejectment, and all the wretchedness which they inevitably involve, let us at least be consistent, and abandon all attempts to educate him into a clear perception of his miserable condition. Let all village schools be closed, and all vernacular newspapers suppressed.

Thus the inevitable struggle of classes, of the oppressed against their oppressors, and against the Government which upholds oppression, may be—not averted, certainly—but somewhat postponed.

It is surely gratuitous folly, as well as cruelty, to awaken a sleeping man to consciousness of suffering which we might, but will not, relieve. Better to let him slumber on, while he can, that so, perchance, there may be peace in our time. Having sown the wind, let us, if possible, leave the whirlwind to be garnered by our successors. If we have not the courage which should accompany strength, let us at least act with the prudence appropriate to timidity. It remains to speak of the Commissioner's recommendation that occupancy tenants should be allowed the power of mortgaging their rights. Wherever, and as long as, this is permitted, a very large proportion of the holders of such rights will be, as the ryots of the Deccan so generally are now, the mere slaves of the money-lender. The cultivator cannot resist the temptation which the power of mortgage holds out to him, of raising money without immediate loss of the possession of his fields. He can get quite deeply enough into debt without that power, as the state of the Oudh tenantry testifies. If every tenant in Upper India were given a mortgageable right of occupancy to-day, it is practically certain that in ten years' time fifty per cent. of such rights would, to all intents and purposes, be in the hands of the money-lenders. The only thing needed to prevent so lamentable a result would be a provision that all mortgages of occupancy rights, without immediate transfer of possession notified to, and sanctioned by, the Collector of the district, should be *ipso facto* void. The danger is so real and certain, and the remedy so obvious and simple, that it is matter for both surprise and regret that the Commission should not have recognized the one and insisted on the other.

It is devoutly to be hoped that our troubles in Afghánistán may soon be ended by a total withdrawal from Kandahár and a return to our old frontier, and that the question of agrarian reform may then be taken up in earnest. The best compensation we can make to the people of India for the cruel and unnecessary strain and pressure to which the Afghán war has subjected them is to put the agricultural industry of the country on a sound footing. And this can only be done by liberating the cultivator from the liability to exaction which has hitherto tied his hands and benumbed his energies. There are two courses open to us—a policy of progress tempered by prudence, and a policy of stagnation interrupted by panic. It is for the Government of India to choose between them.

H. C. IRWIN.

ART. VII.—CODIFICATION FOR INDIA.

IN the *Gazette of India* for the 22nd January last appears a short correspondence of considerable moment ; being a letter (No. 121 in the Legislative Department, dated 5th December 1879), enclosing the *Report* of the Law Commission of that year, together with the reply of the Secretary of State.

The reply is as follows :—

“The Report has been considered by me in Council. In reply I request that you will express to the Commission my sense of the zeal and ability with which they have examined the important subjects referred to them, involving the consideration, not only of the provisions of the six Bills which were laid before them, but also of the principles upon which Indian Codification ought to be conducted.

“Reserving my opinion upon the abstract reasoning with respect to the principles on which Codification should be conducted, to be found in the commencing paragraphs of the Report, I will confine myself to the practical measures which are subsequently recommended. These are the laws relating respectively to Negotiable Instruments, to the subject dealt with by the Transfer of Property Bill, to Trusts, to Alluvion, to Easements, and to Master and Servant.

“I am of opinion that, in the case of the Bills relating to Negotiable Instruments, Transfer of Property, and Alluvion, which have already been introduced into the Legislative Council, and referred to Select Committees, the Report of the Law Commissioners should be communicated to the several Committees, which might then proceed to report upon the measures in the usual course. As to the remainder of the drafts, which have not yet been introduced into the Legislature, I shall not object, if you so decide, to their introduction, in order that the Select Committees to which they will in ordinary course be referred may, with the Commissioners' Report before them, proceed to report upon the Bills.

“I also request that all the Bills referred to in this despatch, as settled by the Committees, may be retranslated and recirculated in India, and be submitted to me with the Reports of the Committees before any further steps are taken regarding them.”

The publication of these orders gives a favourable opportunity for a brief review of the whole subject of Indian Codification, so far as it has yet gone. The details of the Bills provisionally

sanctioned need not, indeed, give us much trouble; nor would it be possible to give them due consideration in this place. They form, together with the *Probate and Administration Act* just passed (No. V. of 1881), chapters of an avowedly projected Civil Code for the whole Empire, which will ultimately, not only incorporate all existing enactments and judicial precedents, but will revolutionise the manners and customs of races wedded to old historical systems. It is therefore chiefly as forming parts of such a destined Code that their study is proposed to the readers of a literary periodical; and the Report of the Commissioners may perhaps be examined, briefly, with interest and even profit from the point of view expressly postponed by the Secretary of State in Council. For, as will have been perceived, the orders quoted, while sanctioning the undertaking of legislation upon certain definite subjects, distinctly withhold all expression of opinion as to the portion of the Report which professes to deal with the general principles of Indian Codification.

In any study of such a subject as Codification for a country, it is a needful preliminary to understand what is meant. Now it is plain that the word "Code" may imply two different things; and great confusion would arise if they were not to be carefully distinguished. In its most general sense, it means the whole *Corpus Juris* of a nation or large community, such as the *Code of New York*, the *Prussian Code*, etc. In its more restricted sense, it means the rules drawn up in regard to a special subject; such as the *Code of Signals*, the *Civil Leave Code*, the *Indian Penal Code*, and such like.

A Code in the first sense is a most serious and difficult undertaking. A common body of law supposes a social body with common ideas and interests; and amid the great diversities of human life, such things are the exception rather than the rule. It cannot perhaps be positively laid down that Codification must always be proceeded by complete unification, because (after a certain amount of discordance has been surmounted) the use of a common Code may tend to draw men still closer together, and the two processes may then go on side by side. But "a certain amount" must be taken for a reality; where there is no precedent leaning to union a Code will not help. This is shown clearly by the state of things in France, where in the old monarchy—when Normandy and Brittany, Aquitaine and Burgundy, Languedoc and Langue-doil were loosely held together by a federal tie—it was found impossible to fuse together the *droits coutumiers* and the Civil Law; and (as Voltaire said) a traveller had to change his laws almost as often as he changed his post-horses. So in the Roman Empire, it was not till the year 290 A.D. after Goths, Gauls,

Germans, Africans, Spaniards, Greeks, and Dacians had received the freedom of the city, and were living under homogeneous institutions, that the first collection of edicts became possible ; and then only in the form of a Digest or private handbook without legislative force. Generations elapsed before the Emperors ventured to give sanction to such collections ; and even the celebrated Code of Justinian was hardly a "Code" in the larger modern meaning. The Goths, on succeeding to the Western Empire, enacted a new Code incorporating their own national ideas ; but this speedily underwent sub-division as their Empire broke up. The *Codex Legum Barbarorum* disintegrated into no less than four divergent systems ; then followed the feudal system and the growth of a mass of local customs which led towards the chaos of which France was, and Britain still is, a conspicuous example. The Scottish law preserves a likeness to the old Roman law ; the Channel Islands have the old Norman system modified by experience and use ; English law is in a state of confusion and complexity at home, while its introduction into Ireland is commonly held answerable for much of the trouble from which that country is never long free. No common Code is possible for Christendom, nor even, so far as can be seen, for the United States of North America.

Thus, then, we see that Codification in its larger sense is a process which must be accompanied, if not necessarily proceeded, by national integration ; and we thus obtain a *datum*, or starting point, for all discussion regarding its introduction into an Empire like British India. So long as the varying sources of thought and action continue to affect bodies of men set in varying external circumstances, all attempts to govern them by a strictly uniform system must be artificial, and the apparent unity must fly asunder as soon as administrative pressure is removed or even slackened.

The *Ain Akbari* show that a general body of uniform law formed part of the scheme of the great, but premature, organiser whose name it bears. It may be doubted whether any oriental despot could at any period do all that Akbar attempted to do ; it is quite certain that his efforts were rendered impossible by the then existing conditions of time and place. Yet, as efforts, they were omnilateral, and included a strenuous endeavour. Akbar sought to supersede the quasi-divine authority of the two great prevailing systems among his subjects, and to fuse them in a common whole which should add a general spirit of human morality to the peculiar advantages of both. One morning in March 1579 the imperial Reformer appeared in the pulpit of his grand mosque at Fatehpur ("the goodliest in the East" says Fitch) to preach in the character of "the Mujtahid of the age." As the

word used by the historian expresses a function which all schools of Islam concur in pronouncing to be at an end, this was of itself a renunciation of Islam and its laws of supposed revelation. And so we find (though no complete body of law has been preserved) that, amid a mass of trifling and puerile regulations, Akbar claimed the power of a lawgiver as no orthodox Mohamadan ruler could. He ventured indeed to legislate on the relation of the sexes, in all branches, repealing at once the permission of polygamy continued in the Koran and the rite of *Sati* deduced from the *Shastras*. Edicts on other subjects were issued; cases between Hindus were not to be decided by Mohamadan judges; the *khiraj*, or tribute on land and the *jazia*, or capitation of unbelievers, were alike abolished; how far it went we do not know, but it evidently went far, and the laws of Islam were altered, not merely arranged. The man however might have come, but the hour had not: with Akbar's death all relapsed into confusion. What was the precise system during the reigns that followed we do not find clearly described; it is probable, however, that Musalman orthodoxy, as applied to secular affairs, underwent a blow under Akbar from the effects of which it never entirely recovered. By disestablishing the great office-bearers and confiscating their endowments, Akbar sapped the power of the religious hierarchy whose existence and independent authority are the necessary conditions of a state governed by the laws of Islam. Aurungzeb tried to restore the Arabian system; and if he had been able to rule in peace, would probably have restored the due machinery. In that case the *Koran* and *Traditions* (as applied by Abu Hanifa and his school) would have been an almost complete Code for so much of the Peninsula as might have been brought under the Mughal sway. The *Fatawa-Alamgiri* show a theoretical legislation of that kind: but in point of fact, the Hindus were becoming too strong for it to take much practical effect. When the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, a little more than half a century from Aurungzeb's decease, came virtually under the power of the East India Company "the inhabitants, Mohamadians as well as Hindus, were in possession of their own written laws," says Harington (*Analysis*, Vol. 1, edition 1805-9, page 11.) It is added however that in Bengal the Mohamadan Government which preceded, had established its own criminal law, to the exclusion of that of the Hindus, who only preserved their own institutions in matters of *jus privatum*, which were too deeply interwoven with their religious practices and prejudices to be interfered with even by the dull barbarians by whom they had been conquered. In other parts of the country perhaps even in criminal matters there was no supreme law.

In this state of things was Codification possible; was it desirable?

and if so, on what basis. A doctrine was once laid down from the Calcutta Bench that there was, at the conquest, a sort of legal vacuum into which English law, as by course of nature, rushed in. Quite different was the view taken at the time by experts. Discarding that quasi-magical view of the spontaneous action of what Jeremy Bentham called "Grimgribber," they were content with the plain facts of the case.

"The British legislature," proceeds Mr. Harington, writing when the subject was fresh in recollection, "when its attention was called to the management of the affairs of the East India Company—instead of extending the local and complicated laws of England into these remote, populous and long-civilised countries—wisely resolved to limit the administration of English law." Accordingly by the 13th Geo. III. C. 63, followed up by 21 Geo. III. C. 70, the local Government was clothed with legislative powers subject to a veto to be exercised by the authorities in the metropolis within a period of two years from the date of their being reported. Similar authority was given to the minor presidencies, and the Supreme Court in Bengal (afterwards copied in Madras and Bombay) was confined in its action to the town in which it sat. The next law on the subject was passed, 37 Geo. III. C. 142, where it was laid down as "established, and declared, as essential to the future prosperity of the British territories in Bengal that all regulations passed by Government, affecting the rights, properties, or persons, of the subjects, should be *formed into a regular Code.*" And the tenor and (for the most part) the very words of the preamble from which this is an extract had been adopted from Regulation XLI of 1793, the corner-stone of all British legislation then and down to the present time in India.

These were a sort of honeymoon days, when each partner in the newly-formed association believed in the other, the natives thinking that the people who had so easily overthrown them in battle must be equally wise in all ways; the British regarding "the Moors" and "the Gentoos" as docile and promising pupils. It was accordingly announced that a system was to be introduced "which shall preserve, as much as possibly can be done, their institutions and laws to the people of Hindustan; and attemper them with the mild spirit of the British Government."

But alas! a wider knowledge of the people of Hindustan dispelled these illusions. In winding up this chapter after a lapse of fifteen years, Mr. Harington judiciously concludes with Sir James Mackintosh, that "there is but one way of forming a Civil Code, either consistent with common sense or practised in any country; namely, that of gradually building up the law in proportion as the facts arise which it is to regulate."

"As the facts arise" must be construed "as the facts emerge into observation;" and if among these facts we should find a conspicuous divergence and discrepancy of thought, conduct, principle, practice, among the different classes of the people the process of Codification will not only lead to difficulty but also to delay, not foreseen on a more casual acquaintance.

And so it has happened in India, and from 1793 to 1880 the greater part of the task commenced in the former period has remained unfulfilled. The following extract from the last published *Report* on the subject is a lucid and fair exposition of the nature of that task. "The legislature should be in close and appreciative communication with the felt necessities and the active thought of the society for which it is to work. It must be quick to discern permanent tendencies amongst the temporary fluctuations of popular impulse. Without binding itself to the trammels of what has grown effete, it must recognise the existing state of facts as a main element of the structure to be raised and mould them into a symmetrical fabric with the more universal element drawn from general jurisprudence. The true purpose of a Code is to further the moral and material progress of a people by fostering a general harmony of thought and action and by employing all the means afforded by existing conditions for ensuring a future amelioration. There must, then, be exact and sympathetic observation leading to true insight; there must be development; there must also be adoption and appropriation; but all without waste of force, and without neglect of any element which by its unacknowledged presence will set all calculations at fault." [*Report of the Indian Law Commission, 1879, para. 7.*]

Such is the conception of their duty formed and expressed by Lord Cornwallis's modern successors in the field of Indian Codification. It is one which will tax all their faculties; it threatens to involve some danger of a pedantic use of ideas foreign to the country and little likely to be assimilated by the people:—

"No eye could be too sound
To observe a world so vast,
No patience too profound
To sort what's here amassed.

How man may here best live no care too great to explore:

But we—as some rude guest
Would change, where'er he roam,
The manners there professed
To those he brings from home—

We mark not the world's course, but would have it take ours."

In the direction indeed of public, or criminal, law there has been much good work done. The *Indian Penal Code*, though

in one or two places still in conflict with "the active thought of society" and with "the actual circumstances of the community," is not only a most philosophical system in the abstract, but is one which has practically worked for twenty years to the great and general benefit of very various races and classes of mankind. If so much cannot be said for the often-patched and tinkered *Code of Criminal Procedure*, yet (with the constant supervision of the High Courts) a cheap, rapid, and fairly rational method of applying the criminal law has been obtained.

In Civil Law, too, we have got a Procedure Code and a Contract law capable of reasonable administration; but after all we are still only *in limine* as regards the main work of Codification. The plan which the Commissioners propose is stated in the last portion of their prefatory remarks, dated 15th November 1879.

They recommend as follows:—

(a) "that the process of codifying well-marked divisions of the substantive law should continue;

(b) that the eventual combination of those divisions as parts of a single and general Code should be borne in mind;

(c) that the English law should be made the basis, in a great measure, of our future Codes, but that its materials should be recast rather than adopted without modification;

(d) that in recasting these materials due regard should be had to native habits and modes of thought, that the form which those materials assume should, as far as possible, resemble that of rules already accepted * * *

(e) that uniformity in legislation should be aimed at, but that special and local customs should be treated considerately;

(f to j) that subjects should be taken up in a certain stated order;

(k) that preparation be made for a systematic chapter on interpretation;

(l) that the project of framing a digest of the decisions of Indian Courts should be abandoned."

Of these proposals the last two call for little or no comment. Preparing for a system of interpretation is not a process sufficiently urgent or definite to detain the student at his present stage; and the publication of a digest of decisions may well be left to private enterprise. If any one finds that such a digest is demanded by practitioners, and that he has the leisure to draw it up, he may well be left to act in the matter on his own judgment. Our present object opens out the discussion of the general principles of Codification flowing from the first five recommendations:—

1. Is it desirable to prepare sectional Codes and Codelets,

upon special subjects ; and, if it is so, should they appear in the order indicated ?

2. In any Codes so prepared, should English Law, with the proviso annexed, "be made the basis?"

3. Should such Codes be avowedly prepared so as to form chapters of a general Code to be enacted hereafter as the law of the Indian Empire ?

On the first of these questions it may fairly be said that there ought to be no doubt as to the first half of it. The considerable amount of success that has already been obtained in the way of sectional Codification proves this ; and the only remaining problem is as to the subjects to be dealt with and the order in which they should be taken up. The weakness of the scheme of the Commission lies in only one direction ; it either regards the Indian Empire as more united than is already the case, or it trusts too much to the power of an alien Government to expedite such unity by legislation upon its own ideas. "A variety of laws under the same Government is not only an embarrassment to the Courts, but an impediment to intercourse and fruitful activity." Is there not a trace here of a tendency to confound territorial and administrative concentration—chiefly perceptible to the rulers—with the ties of tribal and religious unity—which are those chiefly recognised by the people ? Bengal and Madras are under the same Government, yet the whole conception of law among the people is different. Rampur and Haidarabad are under different Governments, yet—as Sunni States—both are under the same law. The law of contracts," we are told, "first in fragmentary sections and then in a systematic collection of general principles, claimed early recognition in the formation of the Indian Code." The Contract Act is a favourable illustration, no doubt ; and is very useful to a Court legislating, let us say, between a Parsi and a European in a Presidency town : but even this "Chapter of the Code" would be either useless or worse if put in motion—say—against the members of a joint Hindu family living in commensality under the strict principles of the *Mitakshara*. Such person's contracts would either remain a dead letter, in spite of Contract Acts devised by foreigners, or they would be enforced by the Courts in the teeth of public conscience, and the enforcement would be found disruptive of society. The Commissioners admit some portion of this difficulty ; but they say that it does not matter. "The contrasts of civilisation amongst the several provinces of the Roman Empire were not less marked than those to be observed in British India : yet this was not allowed to prevent the growth and application of a uniform system of legal principles.

No doubt, the Civil Law gained in some measure by the need which thus arose for a rejection of special peculiarities and an adoption of general principles: but it may be a question whether the subjects of the Empire gained equally. Nor was the gain to the Code itself permanent in a practical sense; for the various laws and customs of the barbarians sprang up like weeds almost immediately after its promulgation in the Western Empire; and to this day, though operative in France and Italy, the Civil Law is repudiated by the bulk of the Teutonic races. To go no further, indeed, than one of the draft projects attached to the present Report, we find in the proposed *Law of Master and Servant* an instance of the unfitness of the people of India for legislation, either based on unity or intended to facilitate union. The very first section of the Bill provides that "nothing herein contained applies to the Hindu, Jain, Sikh, Mohamadan, and Buddhist clerks, and to the domestic and agricultural servants of Hindus, Sikhs, Mohamadans and Budhists." What sort of Codification, it may be asked, is this which excludes every chief section into which society is divided, and only affects foreigners and scattered individuals who have already laws of their own? Similar difficulties have been encountered, in different ways, in laws already enacted. The Indian Succession Act has hitherto been confined in its effects to Christians. The *Penal Code* itself, with all its merits, has not escaped this snare when it touches the confines of domestic life; for it makes bigamy penal contrary to the ideas and customs of the Natives, and it makes adultery penal—contrary to those of Europeans. Another of the new projects—the *Transfer of Property Bill*—has had to tread delicately among the stumbling-blocks thus disclosed; and it could be shown to involve principles and rules that will either prove inoperative or revolutionary. If any one doubts this assertion, he has only to compare the 2nd and 3rd Chapters of the Bill with any standard treatise on Hindu Law. By the *Mitakshara* (which may be roughly described as the system governing Hindus everywhere excepting in Bengal) immovable property is generally regarded as a sort of corporate estate held and managed by the ostensible proprietor for the joint benefit of the whole family; private transfers, of the whole or of shares, are not allowed; wills are only recognised by a fiction, and are not, as a rule, ever made. How can such a state of things be subjected to the principles of the Indian (Christian) Succession Act, or those which "underlie the Thelluson Act"? So, again, in the chapter on Gift, though in the 1st section, an attempt has had to be made to save the Mohamadan law on the subject. As to details, this is not the place for criticism, nor is such the object of the present paper which is dictated by a cordial sympathy with the cause of

Codification. But it is clear, from the very scholarly and interesting *Report* with which we are dealing, that the able jurists from whom it emanates are themselves well aware—as was only to be expected—of the almost overwhelming obstacles that beset their path. And it may be permissible to assure them that, while their contribution to the philosophy of the subject is warmly appreciated, they are not likely to be blamed for any amount of caution and delay that may be found proper in applying it to practice. Mr. John D. Mayne begins the 7th Chapter of his valuable work on Hindu Law with words which are not likely to have escaped the attention of the Commissioners:—

“The student who wishes to understand the Hindu system of property must *begin by freeing his mind from all previous notions drawn from English Law*. They would not only be useless but misleading. In England ownership, as a rule, is single, independent and unrestricted. It may be joint, but the presumption will be to the contrary. It may be restricted, but only in special instances and under special provisions. In India, on the contrary, joint ownership is the rule, and will be presumed to exist in each case until the contrary is proved. If an individual holds property in severalty, it will in the next generation relapse into a state of joint tenancy. Absolute, unrestricted ownership, such as enables the owner to do anything he likes with his property, is the exception.” These principles, as need scarcely be more fully explained, are part of a system inwoven in the fibre of national life among *Mitakshara* Hindus and guaranteed by their British rulers. They throw the greatest of obstacles in the way of private contracts regarding transfer; in fact it has been ruled that sales made without the consent of all co-sharers are *void*. Akin to this is the right of pre-emption, which is one that has been held to be rather pertinent to Mohamadan law than to that of the Hindus. Macnaghten (*M. L. Introductio*, p. xv.) seems to have been doubtful; and it is now (except in particular local systems) usually allowed only where it exists by virtue of contract or local custom, and as regulated by Mohamadan Law. But, so far as it is recognised, it offers a further stumbling-block to uniform legislation. The *Negotiable Instruments Bill* offers fewer difficulties; and there can be no objection to an assimilation guarded by the saving clause as to instruments in an oriental language. The Law of Alluvion is not objectionable, though of doubtful urgency; for local Governments already deal with the subject according to local conditions. The last of the present projects relates to Easements and Licenses; and here also no danger to rooted laws or customs having almost the force of laws seems fairly to be apprehended.

Having disposed of these subjects, it is proposed that the Legis-

lature should next undertake the Law of Wrongs. Here another set of questions may arise. *Tort* has been defined to be an injury or "wrong independent of contract;" and actions of *tort* will lie in English law for damages where (a) a right has been invaded; (b) a breach of public duty is alleged whereby loss has been caused to the suitor; (c) a similar breach of private duty. But it is obvious that we are here on the confines of Criminal Law; and that, inasmuch as compensation is allowed to be levied by the Criminal Courts in India and to be paid to the person affected injuriously, a considerable part, if not the whole, of the ground belonging to this section of Law is already covered by the *Penal Code* and the *Code of Criminal Procedure*.

After the Law of Wrongs it is proposed to take up the law relating to insurance, carriers and lien. And finally that the Legislature should deal with the whole law of property. On this order of action it is observed in the *Report*, that these laws "are all of considerable importance; and they are to a great extent in the incipient stage at which they can be moulded according to the wisdom of the Legislature without individual injury or inconvenience." "But," it is added, "no great harm will arise from the postponement of legislation regarding them until the heavier task is done." If by the words "heavier task" is to be understood the law of Torts, the question may be raised, Why postpone laws that are easy and important to one which confessedly requires much preparation, and which is already represented by a very efficient substitute? The Contract Act seems incomplete. Trade is in a condition calling for treatment; the remedy of wrongs is provided for practically in a rough but popular way: why not leave it alone for the present? As to the Law of Property in its whole extent, it will comprehend some chapters that will have been already passed; and the discussion of its other parts may well lie over until the time comes.

So far, then, as the first question raised, we may answer, that all the subjects mentioned and covered by the Bills proposed are such as may usefully be legislated for: that all the Bills, if not too innovating and refined, will be useful; that great care must be taken to save to the Hindus and Mosalmans the use of their own systems; and that the order in which it is recommended to take up the various subjects is not the best, and should be reconsidered.

The next question to be determined is, whether or no the Commissioners have made out a sufficient case for basing their projected Codes on English law. And here, in spite of the skill with which the *Report* is worded, most unprejudiced persons will be disposed to hesitate, if not to deny. English Law is naturally dear to those bred under its power and influence. The Law and the

Nation were born together when the Roman retired to his ships and the Cambrian to his Western fastnesses, and they have grown together ever since. But it is not dear to the philosophic jurist, who asserts that the circumstances of its birth and of its subsequent growth are just those which most disqualify it for suiting other races who have had another origin and another evolution. We have already learned from Harington that English Law was not favoured by the early Indian codifiers, either here or at Home; we have seen that, on the contrary, it was carefully separated, set apart, and circumscribed. We have also taken note of Mr. Mayne's very strong remarks upon the ideas that underlie and distinguish the law of property among the Hindus, exactly reversing those that prevail amongst Englishmen. As regards the followers of the prophet, any treatise on Mohamadan Law will show us the same sort of difference:—

“The provisions of the Mohamadan Law of Inheritance have for their basis the following passages of the Koran, ‘God hath commanded you concerning your children, etc.’ The right of representation is taken away, and a son whose father is dead cannot inherit the estate of his grandfather. *Macnaghten*, A partner, or neighbour, is privileged to come in as a purchaser before property can be offered to a stranger; a bequest by testament without the assent of the heirs-at-law is only valid to the extent of one-third of the estate; and the accumulation of property in the hands of the eldest son, so as to found a family, is impossible, because there is the same rule of distribution for real property as for personalty. Lastly, the Law was fixed by the Revelations of the Prophet and the Traditions bequeathed by his Apostles; so that no reform of it can ever be made in subsequent ages.”

Such is the fundamental nature of law in the two great sections of the Indian population. The Hindus have a sort of *Civil Law*, the Moslems a kind of *Leviticus*, the one sacred for all time, the other barely enduring the occasional introduction of fictions and the benevolent adaptations of the Bench; both guaranteed to their respective followers by written promise and by the still surer warrants of use and of policy, and both resting ultimately on spiritual sanction. That the writers of the Report are not unaware of these things is not a matter of presumption alone. Their *Caveats* are strong and frequent, even if not logically pursued. We have seen that they expressly state in their concluding summary that the English law, when used as a basis, should still be recast with due regard to Native habits and modes of thought; and elsewhere they no less distinctly assert, that “if by means of additional laws we wish to contribute new expansive force to Native society, we should first of all free ourselves from the fetters of a too exclusive

devotion to our own somewhat narrow legal system." The peculiarity of that system they pronounce to be its insularity, "its shrinking from general principles, its bit-by-bit growth on the results of particular cases." They have no partiality for Judge-made Laws: the very object implied in their labours being to reduce to a minimum the discretion of the Bench and substitute for it a complete body of positive enactment winged by copious "Illustrations." Granting this to be desirable as an ultimate aim to be persistently studied as soon as social progress is seen to require it, the question would still remain how far it would be just and wise to base such a *jus gentium*, on a system that is narrow, insular, averse from general principles, and grown gradually out of particular cases. "The details of life and social relations differ infinitely in this country from what they are in England" as the Commissioners admit; but they still cling to the idea of an Anglicised Code as a matter of political education which may "serve in the course of time as the solid core of a greatly improved scheme of popular ethics." According to this view "The Law is a school-master to bring men to.——?"

To what? A thoughtful Indian writer (Mr. A. C. Lyall, C. B. v. *Fortnightly Review* for April 1878, p. 643) has approached this question for us, if he has not quite answered it. Mr. Lyall is by no means a common-place thinker; but the very remoteness of his speculations is a strong reason why they should not be neglected: for in matters of this kind the remote has to be kept in mind, the very nature of the subject taking us away from the temporary needs of to-day. The Commissioners write as if the people of India were in a state of childhood; but how if it be one of second childhood? When a labouring man has lived without learning and grown grey in inexperience, we do not send him to school but to the workhouse; where, under the ministrations of the gruel-maker and the chaplain, he nourishes his old age with mental and bodily porridge such as suits his state of mind and body. And the analogy may be found to have a closer application than at first appears. The Hindus are a survival of the primitive societies of the ancient world; and their national life has gone on without any of the strange experiences which have befallen the nations of the West, Christianity, Feudalism, Travel, Commerce, Art. And the Moslems of India have got into a very similar position. Now in primitive societies the fundamental notion of duty is fear of strong but capricious unseen powers, who are prone,—as Mr. Lyall says—"to levy black-mail on human prosperity." Hence it comes that "the Indians, as a mass, still consider religion as the supreme authority which administers their worldly affairs and not as an instrument for—"

in fact for, the foundation of moral emotions, as we English do, or are learning to do.

Now, supposing we found ancient Hodge in this sort of condition ; thinking that if he told a lie he would be punished with rheumatism, and if he called his brother a fool he would be in danger of Hell-fire. Should we tell him that this was all nonsense, and try to supplant it by cosmical ethics, and a course of Herbert Spencer, backed up only by an ultimate prospect of cats-of-nine-tails and the solitary cell ? And so with the decrepitude of an ancient people : ought we to take from them the prescriptions of written revelation kept flexible by traditional authorities and practical application and substitute Jeremy Bentham and the eventual sanction of the secular arm ? All previous oriental lawgivers have appealed to their divine mission, and have confined themselves to dealing out an arbitrary regimen based upon theology and little concerned with real rectitude. Is the present alien Government wise in recommending right conduct for its intrinsic merits and supporting the recommendation on secular sanction only ? Is not this a teo-rapid solvent, a dangerous opiate for the "cradle of descending age" ? Granting that Anglicism would be a just, politic, practical process, would it be morally a proper way of treating the public conscience ?

These questions will have to be answered before we shall be in a position to deal with our last issue ; *viz.* whether the final goal to be kept in view is the production of a general Code for the entire Indian Empire.

The bias of the present writer will have shown itself clearly to all who may have borne with him so far. With a deep sense of the infirmity of human judgment, and of the danger of allowing judicial officers to produce legal orders *pro re natâ* from their own breasts under the inspiration of interested practitioners ; with every desire to see the fortunate examples of the *Penal Code* and the *Contract Act* followed to all legitimate limits ; he does not believe in the possibility of a common universal Indian statute like the *Code Napoléon*. He is sorry if he is wrong, he has done his best to be right and to set forth his reasons for an opinion which must be as disappointing to others as it is to himself. Those reasons have been incidentally stated in dealing with the earlier issues. It was indeed impossible to show how far Codification could profitably go without anticipating the showing where it would have to stop. Laws that are wanted must be passed ; and the more they are founded on the general principles of human nature the more wholesome they will necessarily be. But, until Hindus cease to be Hindus, and Musulmans

cease to be Musalmans, you cannot bind them by a common Code. By the time the *Mitakshara* Hindus had reached the stage of the *Daya Bhaga*, the followers of the latter would have reached some other stage: if Saiad Ahmad Khan (good luck to him) should convert the bulk of Mohamadans to his own liberal views, the successors of the present *Wahhabis* will have become *Motazilas*; and the latter will not have stood still.

This is on the supposition that the notion above hinted, in regard to second childhood, shall not be fulfilled, and that British influence—not exercised through the Legislatures but through the Universities—shall have developed some latent germ of progress and started a new spring-time of national existence for India. Against hope let us hope that this may be. But, even so, it is doubtful whether a call for a Code would be one of the consequences of such a revival; it is certain that a Code prematurely introduced will never be its cause.

In the meanwhile however we need not stand still with folded hands. There have been attempts at Codification of a more modest sort, and with a more restricted area than a whole Peninsula, co-extensive with the Continent of Europe minus Russia. Such are the *Oudh Laws Act*, and the *Punjab Laws Act*, laying down the law that is to be in force, respectively, in the Provinces whose names they bear. We have already seen the plan that runs through so many attempts at passing *leges loci*, enactments to have general effect throughout the Empire. So great is the divergence between the legal necessities of great sea-port towns and of rude frontier communities, between those of Europeans and those of Natives, between those of various classes and creeds, that almost every statute operates differently in different circumstances. Hence arises necessary localisation of law: and general Codes become no more general than would an Act of Parliament that should be declared to be applicable to all excepting Catholics and Orthodox Protestants: that is to say, only applicable to Socinians, Atheists and Gypsies. It is well observed by the Commissioners that "exceptions must be made in many cases in which it can be seen that what is special and local, cannot be made to yield to what is general...In such cases the question occurs, *Le mal de changer est il toujours moins grand que le mal de souffrir?* [*Montesquieu*] and it must receive a reasonable and considerate answer...It is quite possible that, in the future, provinces which had no definite legal ideas of their own may become, like Gaul in ancient days, remarkable for the completeness and tenacity of their adhesion to the new system." The analogy is happy. Not merely "in ancient days" but in our own has Gaul shown its adhesion to that which was once the Code of the Empire of which it was a

Province, for it has revived that Code with suitable alterations, and, in doing so, has set up a model which is being followed by the descendants of other provincials. Regions and populations that are without laws of their own will accept yours more readily than those which are already provided; and that is an equally strong reason for giving them in the former case and for withholding them in the latter.

Let us, therefore, look a little more closely into the most instructive sample of this unambitious attempt. The *Punjab Laws Act* (IV. of 1872) seems to meet every requirement of a local Code. It is intended to form a common system for the Biluchis of the Indus, the Pathans of the Khaibar Hills, the Sikhs and Hindus of great mercantile towns, the peasantry of the rural districts, and the urban Mohamadans of old imperial cities. The following are specimens of its chief provisions:—

The Native laws of the various great sections, Hindu, Mohamadan, and so forth, are to be followed on each of the twelve main branches of domestic affairs. These are Inheritance, Female Property, Betrothal and Marriage, Dower, Adoption, Guardianship and Minority, Bastardy, Family-relations, Wills and Legacies, Gifts, Partitions, Religious Usages and Institutions. This classification is the more noticeable as affording a sort of admission what a number of subjects are pronounced *in limine* to be unsuited for Codification. Farther, it is laid down that pre-emptive right is to be presumed to exist in villages and in regard to agricultural property. Then comes a short set of rules as to insolvency, followed by provisions as to the duties of the Court-of-Wards. Finally, special regulations are laid down as to tracking of stolen cattle, the slaughter of oxen, armed men and foreign vagrants, ferries, use of natural products of land, and opium. As to all other subjects, the Courts are to be guided, not by English law or its principles, but by the old established rule of "equity and good conscience." And the appended schedule renders applicable ten of the old Regulations and Acts of a general character; all other previous legislation being, so far as the province is concerned, repealed and declared inapplicable. That is to say that the Act is a local collection of all the laws that are considered desirable for the common relations of the various sections of the subject population either towards each other, or towards the State and the public, combined with a reservation, to each section, of the peculiar systems enforced upon each by spiritual sanction, and guaranteed to each by written and implied covenants of conquest. If, in after-days, new forms of life should arise and call for special regulations, there will be nothing to prevent their being legislated for under special conditions or influences. But there is no more necessity for the population to be brought under

the same general Code as the populations of the Twenty-four Pergunnahs or Rangoon than there is for the people of Madrid to be made subject to the laws of Prussia, codified though they be. If a shepherd from Kohat or a draper from Amritsir chooses to go and reside in British Burmah, why should he not be subject for the time to the Burmese system? He would think nothing of going to live at Cabul or at Tashkend if his business led him there; nor would he dream of complaining if he were fairly treated, according to local usage, by the Afghan or Russian Courts.

It only remains to say a word of the constitution of the Commission and of the manner in which its work has been done. Personally, the members were eminently qualified for what they had to do; and their selection reflects great credit on Lord Lytton's government. Mr. Whitley Stokes, C. S. I. is a well-known scholar, who unites to great general antiquarian learning a special knowledge of Hindu antiquity and a special acquaintance with law and law-making. Sir Charles Turner, after having been a practising barrister on the Home Circuit, served with great acceptance as a Puisne Judge in the High Court of the North-West Provinces until selected to succeed Sir Walter Morgan as Chief Justice of Madras. And Mr. Justice West is a very distinguished specimen of the new school of Indian Civilians who has had some years' experience on the Bombay Bench.

The *Report* is what would have been expected from such a body; a valuable contribution to juristic literature. Appointed on the 11th February 1879 to consider the provisions of draft Bills on the six subjects already mentioned, the Commissioners have given good measure, pressed down and running over, by their "suggestions as to the Codification of the substantive Law of British India," in the form of a treatise in which sound learning is joined to a very pleasant and readable style. Assuming, from expressions used in previous correspondence, that the question of giving a Civil Code to India is no longer an open one, the Commissioners proceeded to report, as above shown, on the special Bills before them; but first entered into the arguments that occurred to them in favour of proceeding upon a certain order, adopting a certain basis, and keeping in view a certain definite end. The effect of these arguments will be different upon different minds: some will think that they prove their points, others that they do not. The subject is intricate and involves an appeal to general rules and principles about which no agreement exists, or is at present possible. But prejudice itself cannot deny to the Report the attributes of research and a charming flow of language.

Add that the whole tone is a tone of caution and delay. "In the sense of a general assemblage of all the laws of a community

no attempt has as yet been made in this country to satisfy the conception of a Code. The time for its realisation has, evidently, not arrived. The rapid changes going on in social relations make it difficult to appreciate the exact extent to which laws, even of a limited scope, have furthered or retarded progress." In the meanwhile the Commissioners conclude: "Codification in the less ambitious sense may properly proceed in meeting exigencies which daily experience brings to light along with the materials out of which the appropriate fabric may in each case be formed" [§. 1.]

This is not the language of fanatical Reformers determined to adopt immediately a patent method and carry it out *quand même*. Yet the Commissioners are none the less strongly of opinion that the idea of a general Code should never be absent from the minds of Indian lawgivers, although its realisation may be indefinitely adjourned. While acknowledging that "a Code cannot be thrown off by one effort of a wise and comprehensive intellect," they still hold that "the alternative system should be brought as nearly as possible to such a production by being animated throughout with a uniform spirit and logical method, securing—so far as may be—an essential harmony amid multitudinous details." [§ 3.]

These words surely embody an important truth; provided only that it be rightly applied. Horace has said—may the triteness of the quotation meet with pardon—that the efficacy of laws must depend on the manners of the community:—

Quid leges sine moribus

Vanæ proficiunt?

And the general and unremitting vigilance required to preserve the essential harmony here spoken of will be most wise and beneficial if it be based upon a sleepless desire to maintain such a harmony as shall be oriental and popular. It must, in Horace's words, be recognised that law is based on manners; for however manners may be afterwards affected by law that is an indirect result; and the former view is true, if not exclusively, yet exclusively for the purposes of the legislator. The Jews were circumcised before the time of Moses.

It has not been concealed from the reader that the great rock ahead appears to be, not the idea of harmony and a uniform spirit in the laws to be enacted from time by the Legislative Council of India, but the nature of the particular kind of harmony to be favoured. In Matthew Arnold's poem quoted in an earlier page, mention was made of the "rude guest" who would have his own local peculiarities made the rule for a foreign land where he happens to sojourn. This is the vice of Anglo-India officialism—and we should never forget that it is of officials that the Indian Legislature is largely composed. "Englishmen," observe the

Commissioners, "will move spontaneously along lines, in legislation as in other fields of action, determined for them in a great measure by their own history and law." This seems to be regarded as an advantage; and so it is, up to a certain point. But the point is soon reached. That laws should be reasonable, equal, certain, well-administered, is a principle that the Indian peoples may gratefully accept from the British; it is as old—we saw—as the days of Cornwallis. But, beyond that, the only defensible rule is that founded on evolution. "The true use of a system is to co-ordinate the facts, not to neglect or in an arbitrary way to admit or exclude them. The true purpose of a Code is to further the moral and material progress of a people by fostering a general harmony of thought and action, and by employing *all the means afforded by existing conditions* for ensuing a future amelioration. There must then be exact and sympathetic observation leading to true insight." [§. 7.]

Alas! how are these qualities to be hoped for in a body of men who have been brought up in the drudgery of office and in ruling without resistance? Is it not natural that such men, inclined to "move spontaneously along lines determined for them," will wish to impose upon the meek populations of the East rules derived from "their own history and their own law?" It is but too probable. Yet the prospect is alarming; embracing as it does the imposition upon the various races of India rules originated in the antagonistic conditions of an extreme corner of Northern Europe. Stated nakedly, it comes to this; that the ideas and institutions developed by Sea-Kings and Feudal Barons in wintry Islands are to be rendered suitable to mild races of vegetarians living in the wide warm East. Is such a policy likely "to further the moral and material progress" of these ancient races? Is it not, to use a vulgar adage, perilously akin to the proverbial absurdity of "teaching your grandmother to suck eggs"?

It is by no means intended to imply that theorising, in the genuine sense of the word, is the snare of those glorified Secretaries and district officers who do duty for statesmen in India. Bred in an atmosphere of routine, where they seldom meet with the slightest opposition and never have leisure to open a book, it is not their fault if they lack the intellectual sympathy and imagination that proceed from culture, from historical knowledge, and from debate. With such men, a theory is not the spontaneous produce of their own heads, but an artificial and external covering for idle brains; not resembling natural hair, but rather a periwig or night-cap. For other, of course, is the meaning of Theory for the Commissioners:—

"It is a sound and comprehensive theory which in legal as in physical science, alone gives life to the materials which it embraces.

Such a theory, in any department of human thought, can be formed only by careful and continued reflection on a copious store, both of facts and of subsidiary theories by which the facts are viewed and classed." [§. 8.] Nor is Judge-made law to be ignored:—"This law * * * we must of necessity make the basis in a great measure of the law of India." [§. 16.] "The Indian legislator must compare it with the results arrived at as to the same class of relations under other systems. If he finds a general accordance between them he may safely proceed to consider how far the special circumstances, of the country and the people for whom he has to legislate, admit, repel, or qualify the application of an apparently universal principle." [*id.*] And this because the native systems while consecrated by religion have been systematised by the Bench and involve customs "springing fresh from the nature of the people. To ignore these is to invite failure." Hence it follows that the adoption of English rules and ideas is a question "not of mere prejudice and senseless imitation, but one to be met according to a just analysis of what is proposed and what are the conditions under which it is to operate. To answer the question aright, something more than mere juristic science must be brought to bear on it. There must be a competent knowledge of the existing written and unwritten law; intimacy with Native habits and modes of thought; a set of associations through which the mind of the inquirer is spontaneously affected by an emotion, or the reflex of an emotion, akin to that which will be felt by the ordinary Masalman or Hindu." [§. 19.] This is surely a sensible dilution of the Anglicising virus, and a wise expression of the requirements of an Indian Legislature. But it would not be sensible or wise to expect such action from the Legislature as at present constituted. The modified Anglicising of the Commissioners might be innocuous, even where not absolutely beneficial, if carried out by men of the kind contemplated in the Report. But such men are not to be expected in a Council of officials of the ordinary type associated with two or three untrained outsiders.

It may be long before the necessary legislative body can be created for this country. And, until it is, law—giving will at best be a matter of groping in the twilight. But the time need not be wasted. Deliberation and discussion, the study of the jurist and the industry of the administrators, may all be employed to co-operate in the work of preparation.

"The experience of the world, the decay of superstitions, enable us now to go back with comparative intellectual freedom to really first principles. In pursuing this course we come upon springs of hought and action common alike to Hindu, Masalman, and Christian. At these we should pause, and appropriate all they can yield

to us; employ the results with frugal skill; and, having thus established the base-line and some of the principal points of our system, leave the development of its details to time, to the sure germination of sound thoughts, and to the action of the courts, continually checked in any tendency to aberration by the constraining influence of great and conspicuous landmarks." [§ 19.]

We cannot take leave of this momentous matter in a better spirit than this. In the words of Edmund Burke, the greatest publicist the world has ever seen, "Government is a practical thing, made for the happiness of mankind, not to furnish forth a spectacle of uniformity to gratify the schemes of visionary politicians." The Commissioners, who cite with approval this noble maxim, have shown themselves alive to its application, and quite superior to the temptation of sacrificing the interests of unborn generations to the impulses of a vulgar egotism.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. VIII.—THE FINANCIAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN IRRIGATION.

II. INDIRECT RETURNS.

IF there is one peculiarity of Indian agriculture more noticeable than another, it is the almost absolute necessity for artificial watering. The Southern half of the country lies below the tropic ; a large portion of the Northern half within the zone of greatest heat. All round the Northern hemisphere this zone or belt is peculiarly barren—often desert. The great summer heat to which the whole of India, with some few exceptions, is subject, causes a proportionate dryness. Although it abounds with great rivers, it cannot be said to be watered by them ; where they have not been intercepted for canals, the greater part of their volume is carried on to the sea. The rainfall varies from the tremendous fall on the Western Ghats to the almost nominal one of Sind and Western Rajputána, where it is usually insufficient for agricultural operations, and often fails altogether. Over a very large portion of the most densely populated part of the country there is an average fall, sufficient in most years for the wants of the ordinary crops, but liable to constant fluctuations which leave these tracts subject to periodic droughts. Even a large annual rainfall is no guarantee against damage or loss of the crops, which may perish utterly if the usually abundant downpour does not fall at the right time. Some of the more valuable crops, such as sugar-cane and rice, in many Provinces cannot be grown at all without artificial irrigation. Others, such as indigo, opium, cotton, wheat, left to the natural rains, are at best uncertain, and very liable to fail entirely. The population is, moreover, almost wholly agricultural and dependent upon the food raised from the soil, not only for wealth, but for very existence. When the earth fails to bring forth fruit in due season, the effects are immediately felt by millions. To the bulk of the people of India drought is synonymous with starvation. To ward off this and to make up by artificial means for the want of natural moisture in his fields, the Indian cultivator has to devote most of his energies. To store up the rains, divert the water of the rivers, lift up the subterranean springs, he must build tanks and take advantage of every depression in which water can be stored ; dam up the stream for perennial and inundation canals ; dig wells, and employ a large proportion of his cattle in laboriously drawing up small supplies of water from often great depths. A great deal of his life is spent in regulating his water-supply, or

in lifting it in earthen pots, or leather buckets, or wooden scoops ; by pulleys, by levers, by Persian wheels. In other places or at other seasons, he is exercised in defending himself or his fields from an excessive supply. To him, therefore, the most convenient of all forms of artificial watering is, the irrigation by flow from canals. The great canal system by which the fertilizing water of the river is brought to his fields, and, with the minimum of labour for him, flows on to them at the exact season when it is most required, not only represents perfect protection from his enemy drought, but an immense saving of his labour. He is rendered independent of the local rainfall, the labour of his cattle and himself is free for the tilling of the soil, his seed can be sown at the proper time, and he is sure of his crop. The financial value of irrigation in this form is to him a substantial fact.

In a former article an attempt was made to examine the value of these canal systems as commercial speculations ; to show the direct return in hard cash received by Government for its capital invested. It is proposed now to consider the indirect returns—the value not only to Government but to the people.

If the reader could be transported to Northern India, and, some dry Spring, could be marched across one strip of unirrigated, and another of irrigated country, say from Firozpur to Mirat, he would see for himself the stretches of dry, thirsty lands where shrivelled gram struggled with arid unbroken clods, or fields of dwarf, withered barley looked almost the colour of the adjoining bare plain ; the tanks dred up to small black pools surrounded by acres of mud hardened to something like iron, but often the only water supply available for man and beast ; here and there possibly wells, but so deep or so bitter, that the cultivation round hardly repays the cost of raising the water ; even the stunted jungle white with dust. The Christmas showers have failed and all nature is parched, with little prospect of relief till the monsoon breaks. Suddenly, to the great relief of his eye, the scene, as if by magic, would be changed, the very climate feeling different, and a comparative desert exchanged for a waving sea of corn stretching for miles, broken only by high, dense crops of ripening sugar-cane, or the rich, dark green, rounded outline of mango plantations ; a cultivation extending from the edge of the watercourse to the village, blue and picturesque in the distance—and in the distance there are few more picturesque objects than such an Indian village, albeit a nearer view may be more picturesque than pleasant. Or, in Southern India, this imaginary Baker, or Burnaby, might the other day have gone from the famine-stricken districts of Madras just across the

Eastern Ghats, to find 'plenty appear to view with o'erflowing horn;' thousands of tons of rice to spare, a network of navigable canals, crops growing right up almost alongside the barges, and a fleet of ships loading with canal produce in every port. In either case he would—without asking for a single file of statistics, or ever looking into a revenue report—have seen more than enough to convince him of the indirect value of irrigation.

In an ordinary year the value of this is great, but in years of drought its value becomes infinitely greater. Recent events have more than ever forcibly directed public attention to the possibility of preventing or mitigating these calamities. Commissions have sat both in England and India, and evidence from all sources has been accumulated. The Indian Commissioners have now published their report, and almost the first thing placed on record is that drought and famine are merely convertible terms. "*The devastating famines of India*," they say, "*are in all cases to be traced directly to the occurrence of seasons of unusual drought, the failure of the customary rainfall leading to the failure of the food crops on which the subsistence of the population depends.*" The principal remedies for these may be said to be of two kinds. Preventive:—Works that tend to prevent natural scarcity and produce more food—such as irrigation and improved agriculture; and Protective:—Works that come between the natural scarcity of food and its actual pressure on the people—such as increased facility of transport, roads, railways, and navigable canals. Irrigation and communications are now almost universally accepted as specifics. To these is sometime added emigration, but emigration is the one thing the ordinary *ryot* likes least. He will die, occasionally almost willingly, but he will not emigrate.

In giving the first place to irrigation, it is by no means intended to disparage works of communication. Both are equally needed and both must go together. Nor is it necessary to take up the position of the Athenian tanner. There are many parts of India in which canals are not possible, and irrigation of any kind is difficult. The more the latter is everywhere supplemented by communication the better. In many cases railways are undoubtedly of the first importance. They may be held to protect a greater area in a shorter time than anything else. If they do not ultimately yield so great a return on their outlay, they begin to yield some return much earlier than a canal possibly can. But the necessity for a good system of communications has been so fully acknowledged of late, there is no need for more to be said here. It must not however, be overlooked that it is as measures of *relief*, they are,

principally valuable. The facility of transporting food may enable it to be carried from regions of plenty to those of scarcity, but will not increase the amount produced, nor the means of purchasing it in the distressed districts. A great deal of stress has been laid on the facility afforded by railways for measures of relief, but relief after the method of the recent operations in Bengal and Madras, would not add much to the general wealth. So far from making ten blades grow where only one grew before, the best railway will not ensure the district through which it passes the growth of that single one. As a means of increasing the wealth and resources of the people, of ensuring a supply of food in years of drought, of avoiding the loss of large revenue remissions, and the outlay on costly measures of relief, there is no doubt that irrigation has contributed more than anything else in the past, and may be rightly credited with the first place as an insurance against famines in the future.

What these famines have cost in the past it is almost impossible to estimate even approximately. To attempt to sum up the loss to Government of even a single one must either fall short of the truth, or general statements must be accepted for which it is difficult to give specific facts. So much has been written about Indian famines that it may appear almost superfluous to enter upon even any outline of the subject. The misery that droughts have caused to Indian peasants and the chronic risk of famine in which millions live, might be assumed; like many speeches and addresses, be better taken as read, and the reader passed on to fresher fields. Of the making of books, especially blue books, there is no end; the curious in famine history might certainly find existing reading enough to satiate the most inquiring. But the general public is not likely to dip into this Dryasdust literature, and, in considering the value of preventive measures, it is perhaps as well to endeavour to give some idea of the fearful costliness of the evil itself. The fact that there is hardly a generation of cultivators in this country that escapes the edge of famine more or less severe, that millions live in chronic risk of death by starvation, and that this means enormous charges on the revenues of the State, cannot be too often or strongly brought home. India has been periodically subject to these disasters; not only due to extraordinary droughts, but too often—and this was more especially the case in the Northern Provinces—intensified by devastations caused by the invading armies that for centuries harassed it. History is full of a succession of calamities of the kind, a long series of invasions and oppressions; the agricultural population driven from the soil, pressed into the army or ground

down by unbearable taxation; fertile plains relapsing into jungles—the cattle exterminated—the ploughshares turned into swords by the people who survived famine and pestilence only to follow a career of plunder.

Two of the greatest historical famine areas are the North-West Provinces and Bengal, and they also are undoubtedly two of the greatest fields where canal irrigation, as one of the specifics, can be best illustrated. As regards the former a most interesting report was published by Mr. Girdlestone in 1868 giving an outline of the principal canals. His narrative goes back as early as 1345, when Muhammad Tughlak's constant and exhaustive expeditions resulted in a famine that raged more or less over the whole of Hindustan. The wretched inhabitants of Dehli had been forced to migrate en-masse to the Dekhan for a mere whim, and, when permitted to return, perished by thousands on the road, or returned only to experience such "pangs of hunger that men ate one another." The reign of the magnificent Shah Jehán again marks a famine which affected not only India, but almost the whole of Asia. Two successive years of drought, 1629 and 1630, brought about such an absolute lack, that "money could not purchase bread and death ravaged every corner." Then in 1661 came a drought over the same district, which, however, was considerably mitigated by the far-sighted exertions of Aurangzebe, who not only granted money but imported grain and personally superintended relief operations. And in 1739, the disastrous year of Nadir Sháh's invasion—another, which, instead of mitigation, was aggravated by all the horrors devised by that most barbarous of freebooters, whose delight was in organizing wholesale massacres, and whose glory was to have despatched so many more "infidel souls to hell."

1770 brings the most 'appalling spectre on the threshold of British rule,' as it is aptly described by Mr. Hunter; a famine felt over a very large area of the country, but worst in Bengal, where a third of the inhabitants were officially calculated to have been destroyed. Drought partly in 1768 and intensified in 1769 caused a general failure of crops which reaches a climax in the ruin of the December rice crop, the harvest of the year—and the Government "awakes to find itself in the midst of universal and irremediable starvation." The price of *paddy* in the Orissa district rises from sixpence a hundred weight to sixpence a pound. Even near Calcutta rice rises 10 or 16 fold—to three seers for the rupee! For the peasant, whose very existence is calculated upon food at average rates, and to whom high prices mean misery immeasurable, there was nothing left but to die; and as Mr. Hunter graphically writes "all through the stifling summer of 1770, the people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their

cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they devoured their seed grain; they sold their sons and daughters, till at length no buyers of children could be found; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the field; and in June 1770, the Resident at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding on the dead." The starving fled to the cities only to find pestilence added to famine. "The streets were blocked up with promiscuous heaps of the dying and dead. Interment could not do its work quick enough; even the dogs and jackals, the public scavengers of the East, became unable to accomplish their revolting work, and the multitude of mangled and festering corpses at length threatened the existence of the citizens." This was but a one year's famine, and there followed three years of plenty, but the mischief was done. Nine months had swept off ten millions of people, and a third of Bengal was laid waste for 20 years. "Ravages that two generations failed to repair."

1783 again brings a famine that extended from Kashmir to Rajputana—countries not then subject to British rule—one which native tradition marks as the most awful the country north of the Karumnassa ever underwent. A drought of two, if not three, seasons, that brought down flour to little more than three seers for the rupee, and formed an era in the chronology of the natives "who still date from the 'chállsa' as we do from the mutiny."

During the present century the same record proceeds, only the information becomes fuller. The reports, blue books, and compilations—heavy, ponderous, dull, 'oh so dull, so very dull'—are enough to stock a library, and 'the famines of the century' would furnish matter enough for three volumes of thrilling horror. The long roll extends through nearly every Indian Province. In 1802 there is a scarcity in Madras and a famine in Bombay. A more decided one in 1803 in the North-West, which becomes more serious still in 1804. The area of the drought was more restricted, but it is the first on which official reports throw much light; and when in addition to the story of the people's distress, the loss to the State begins to resolve itself into figures. In affected districts £150,000 is remitted or suspended in the *kharif*, £300,000 lost by non-payment next *rabi*, and this, says Mr. Girdlestone, "does not include suspensions supposed to exceed £730,000, the greater part probably never realized," so that Government begins the century with over a million of direct loss.

At intervals of every few years come a series of minor famines that, if not so extensive, affected large districts severely and in all cases begin with the same story of drought. In 1807 is a failure of the rains in the Carnatic, and there is instituted perhaps the first charitable association for gratuitous help. In 1812 it is in

Guzerát, extending to Rajpútána. In 1824 so severe are the effects in the Northern division of the Delhi territory that the Governor-General grants a remission of the whole year's revenue. In 1832 not a single shower falls in Ajmere, and practically a year's income is remitted. In 1833 it is again Madras; the Government is taken by surprise and 200,000 are estimated as dying in Gantúr. In the same year it is reported of Cawnpore and Bundelkhund that where "there were no facilities for irrigation there was no harvest." And so on, till in 1837 distress that had been local, becomes general. Instead of the rains failing over small tracts of country, the whole Ganges-Jamna Doab and Trans-Jamna districts experience an almost rainless summer.

The whole territory from Delhi to Allábábád and Cawnpore to Jaipur was affected by one of the severest famines of the century; and in spite of every effort made by Government and the early organization of relief measures, the mortality reached nearly a million. The remissions are given by Mr. Girdlestone from the Sudder Board figures as amounting to over £900,000. The sums spent in relief works and grants-in-aid it is more difficult to arrive at, but, independent of private charity they were officially estimated at about £200,000. The cost to Government is given by the Famine Commissioners at £1,147,000, which it is not too much to say might have been in great part, if not altogether saved, had the North-West irrigation works been then in existence. But this loss, great as it is, represents only the direct loss of the year to Government. What may be called the indirect loss is diminished revenue for years. As Colonel Baird Smith, an officer some time after deputed to report, writes, "the stamp of the calamity remained uneffaced for 22 years;" and after analyzing in great detail figures of the three districts most affected, he estimates that the State received less revenue than it would have received, had it been possible to have warded off the calamity in Agra, Allábábád and Rohilkhund by £2,600,000. These estimates may be partly based on conjecture but if they are even approximately correct the loss to Government by such a famine is probably little short of 3 millions.

Col. Baird Smith attempted to approximate the loss to the people themselves, and, taking into account the cattle and agricultural property destroyed, he puts it at not less than 15 millions for these districts. Here of course his figures are more conjectural—but an example of loss of this kind may be taken from the Rajputána administration report for 1868-69. The great wealth of what, except for great stretches of sweet grass, may be called the almost desert lands of those districts is in their vast herds of cattle, that in the dry, bracing climate thrive splendidly. "Many of the great grazers," says Col. Brooke, "like Job of old, own thousand of heads of horned

cattle." In Marwar alone are about 4,500 inhabited villages. A very low estimate of 500 per village gives two and a quarter millions, and during the famine of 1868, it is estimated that two millions were driven off by the 750,000 people who emigrated, the larger proportion to perish or be sold for a mere song. Young milch cows sold for a rupee. Mr. Henry reports for the same year the loss of cattle in the North-West Provinces as over a million. The value of these cattle could hardly be less than as many pounds, the areas are very small compared to that affected in 1837, and considering the loss of cultivating power, such a mortality would represent, it is easy to understand, the enormous loss referred to by Col. Baird Smith.

Passing over a drought in Madras in 1854, when it was estimated that four-fifths of the village cattle of Bellary died, 1860 brings another failure of the monsoon in the North-West, and the winter rains were also entirely wanting. The area of the drought was more limited, but the failure of the crops is said to have been as absolute as in 1837. In the mean time, however, communications had been improved, irrigation extended—the Ganges Canal, though it had reached not much more than a fourth of the present acreage, saving crops valued at twice its entire cost—and the principles of famine administration were better understood. From countries to the South, where the harvest was good, large quantities of grain poured in, but this was far exceeded by the outturn from canal irrigated lands in the province, which represented sufficient to preserve $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people from starvation. Mr. Girdlestone sums up the total loss to government as rather over £206,000, which was nearly equalled by the loss in the Punjab, but the two together only amount to about a third of that in 1837.

It would be too much to speak of these districts as now safe from famine, but it may be said that the Ganges-Jamna-Doab is now protected against any *great* famine. Failures of the rains are as liable to occur as before; the failure in 1877 is in fact reported as more complete than any previously recorded; but with the development of roads, railways and canals, which last now protect nearly four times the area they did in 1861, there should be no actual lack of food, and as the works in hand are complete, this protection will become even more perfect.

Orissa is described as a "Province where the bounty of nature is unparalleled and each autumn turns the delta into a sheet of rice." It has a local rainfall of $62\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but even here drought occasionally comes with the same fatal effects, and 1865 was a fearful example of this. The rainfall was scanty and ceased too soon for the great winter rice crop—the staple crop of the year.

Food stocks were low. Exports had been brisk. And before Government realized the fact, the Province was almost bare of food. "Rice, instead of about 12 lbs for a penny, rose to three pence per lb." Every effort was made—the Government throwing in food at enormous cost—but it was too late. Possibly no calamity in proportion to the area affected was ever so intense or so costly. Besides some £180,000 of private charity, it cost Government one and a half million sterling! £1,539,000, excluding expenditure on public works, is the carefully prepared statement by Mr. Westland, the Accountant-General, £1,450,000 say the Famine Commissioners. It would be mockery to speak of the loss to the people. Out of a population of 4 millions about one-fourth perished! 814,000 died, 115,000 disappeared, say the official reports. The Orissa canals have cost, including accumulated interest, about 2½ millions, on which they have not so far yielded much direct returns, but as an insurance against a calamity like this—if only happening once in a century—they cannot be called even financial failures.

The droughts and famines of more recent times are fresh in the memory of most. The years are marked by formidable rows of asterisks in the Commissioners' report. Of the one in 1868-69 when the rains so completely failed in Rajputána, and parts of the Panjab and North-West, mention has already been made. The dearth of grass for pasture, and in many cases of water, was almost as bad in Hansi, Hissar, and Sirsa as in Rajputána. The mortality among the cattle was fearful; even large herds of deer and antelope perished in the jungle; and, it may be incidentally added, the Sirsa canal project, to perfectly protect this tract was, according to the decennial custom, again brought forward, but—a good season following in 1870—went back again to its shelf, and this country remains still unprotected by either communications or canals.

Concerning the Behar famine of 1873, and those of Bombay, Madras and Mysore in 1876 to 1878, the literature becomes almost overpowering—but unfortunately—all 'by that same dulness cursed.' 'No one could read the books.'

' Even the Reviewers who were hired
To do the work of the reviewing
With adamantine nerves, grew tired. '

and in inverse proportion to their length they may be briefly dismissed. It has been said that famines were only invented in 1873; certain it is the total cost of the relief of the one in Behar reached 6½ millions sterling, or as much as the total expenditure on all past famines in all parts of India from the beginning of the century. This expenditure can hardly be taken as any measure of the

intensity of the famine. The monsoon rains had not altogether failed, although they had ceased too soon for the winter rice crop, much of which was lost, but the responsibilities accepted by the State of providing all with food who might need it, undoubtedly led to an excessive cost. Half of the sum spent would have covered Behar with a system of irrigation, and permanently insured that part of India against future famines. One thing was certainly established. That, however great the value of communications may be as compared with irrigation works, it is not an economical method of preventing famines for Government to undertake the pouring in of great quantities of food. After all pressure had passed away, and rice had been given to every one who wanted it, or would even take it, or the means of purchasing it, on loan without interest, the Commissioners report Government as left with 100,000 tons of surplus stock "which had to be sold at great loss, adding not a little to the total cost of relief." Similarly in Orissa, 20,000 tons, "which had cost four times the usual price" had to be sold for almost nothing in 1867.

Yet, whatever may be thought of the famine in Behar, there can be no question that the recent one in Southern India, in extent, in intensity, and duration, ranks among the most formidable—if it be not *the* most formidable of the century. Not perhaps as regards loss of life or of suffering to the people, which a careful system of administrative and relief measures promptly undertaken by Government averted—at a cost however of upwards of eleven millions of money, supplemented by perhaps the most magnificent private charity on record, amounting to nearly £700,000—though unexampled as regards abnormally deficient rainfall and failure of crops, extending over an area of 200,000 square miles containing a population of 36 millions. How best to deal with such calamities in the future is the problem that most exercises the Indian financier of the present day. The Commissioners' roll is a truly formidable one: 109 years showing the average of a famine every four and a half. On those happening during the present century Government has incurred a direct loss of over 24 millions sterling: while, since the declaration of the great famine policy of 1873-74, there appears the still more startling average of a great one every two years, or an annual famine expenditure of about 3 millions. £18,000,000 from 1873-74 to 1880 are the figures given in the report, or a million in excess of the entire cost of the canal system opened and unopened. If such a strain on its resources continued, a richer Government than that of this country could hardly meet its engagements, and remedies more economical than continued State relief must evidently be found.

Although twelve years ago Mr. Girdlestone concluded his report

with precisely the same recommendation, and, after reviewing means of *alleviation*, urged that irrigation was the only true means of *prevention*, it is satisfactory to find the Commissioners agree in acknowledging its great value in the past and pressing its claim in the future. There is no existing work, they say, "that is not worth to the country the money that has been spent upon it," and among the means of direct protection "the first place must unquestionably be assigned to works of irrigation."

But while it is undoubted that every rupee spent upon well-considered works of the kind has saved Government hundreds in the form of famine relief by the increase of available food supply, it is by no means necessary or even desirable that too large a percentage of the land should be under irrigation, especially canal irrigation. In many cases much mischief has been done in canal districts by the cultivators having injudiciously been allowed to bring far too large a proportion of their holdings under wet crops. Reh, swamp, water logging and exhaustion of the soil have resulted, which have contributed considerably to the disparagement of some existing works. In many cases it might be better for the health of the people, the production of manure, and consequent higher class of farming for a half or three quarters of any village to be under dry crops or dependent on wells. Where some such proportion as this can be maintained, the size of the holdings in proportion to population are larger, which is certainly another weighty reason for the due restriction of irrigation. Spread over a large extent of country, it may not at the outset yield such high returns, but in the end would be even more appreciated and consequently more profitable.

Even restricted in this way, the irrigated tracts are not only themselves protected, but, with the most ordinary means of communication, in a position to protect many times their own area. What percentage this additional protected area would bear is not easy to determine. It has been commonly stated that if one-third of the cultivated or culturable land is provided with means of irrigation of any kind, the people will be safe from want. Of this probably not so much as a third again need be canal irrigation. It would be impossible to lay down an arbitrary percentage as applicable in all cases. Much of course must depend on the length of the drought, the density of the population, the nature of the crops and outturn per acre, and on the subsidiary works, such as wells or tanks, that are available. By far the largest proportion—fully two-thirds—of crops grown on irrigated lands are grain crops, wheat, rice, barley, &c. The remainder principally consist of the more valuable ones, sugar-cane, cotton, indigo, &c., but which need not affect the calculation,

for the produce of these latter would furnish the means for purchasing at least an equivalent to what the land would have yielded had it been planted with grain. A uniform rate may fairly be taken as representing the average outturn per acre of canal land in Northern India. One or two examples may be interesting. During the famine of 1860-61, the canal irrigation in the North-West Provinces amounted to 320,000 acres. The grain-growing portion produced 8,264,295 maunds, the value of the remaining crops at the rates of the day as quoted by Mr. Girdlestone represents 2,575,801 maunds more, or a total outturn of over 13 maunds per acre. Ten years average from the Panjab Revenue Reports give the outturn of grain on the Western Jamna Canals as $19\frac{1}{2}$ maunds per acre, though this is possibly too favourable. The Revenue Report of the North-West Provinces for 1878-79 gives the total acreage of crops irrigated at 1,736,000 acres, valued at £6,815,000, or nearly Rs. 40 per acre, which at 20 seers of food for the rupee would represent an outturn of 20 maunds of food per acre. A comparison of many returns averaged for many years, shows that 14 maunds or 1,120lbs. per acre would be a perfectly safe figure for the entire irrigated area.

The present population of British India is estimated at 211 per square mile. The average in Bengal, excluding Assam, is 397, the Punjab 173, North-West Provinces 378. Deducting the sparsely inhabited and forest countries, in many districts it is much higher. In 1872 the Bengal division was 389, Behar 465, Orissa 181. The North-West ranged from 575 in the Agra, to 395 in the Etawah division. The last may be taken as a fairly representative irrigated district, and the population in round numbers at 400 per square mile.

Mr. Girdlestone gives the ordinary dole in former famines at the rate of a seer a day amongst a man, a woman, and a child; equal to $243\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. per head of population for a whole year, or supposing the entire population of a district like Etawah to require relief for one year, to 97,320lbs. of food per square mile. The produce of a canal irrigated square mile at 1,120lbs. per acre, is equal to 716,800lbs. of food per square mile, or in other words, produces food enough for nearly $7\frac{1}{2}$ square miles of famine tract. This, too, on the improbable assumptions that every inhabitant required relief for a whole year, that there were no stocks of food left to fall back on, and no importations. On the other hand, of course, it is not likely the well-to-do people, or thriving cultivators in irrigated tracts would put themselves on famine rations. Allowance must further be made for the lands under other forms of irrigation, which, as before noticed, should even in canal districts be as 2 or 3 to 1. In the Ganges-Jumna Doab they are pre-

bably more than this. Mr. Girdlestone estimates the wells, tanks, &c., of the North-West Provinces as having in 1860 a capacity of irrigation of close upon 2 millions of acres against 820,000 acres under the canals. The latter has now increased in these provinces to $1\frac{1}{2}$ million acres, and if it may be assumed that the same proportion holds good—and the area in the North-West and Oude dependent on other forms of irrigation is given as over 6 million acres— $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 square miles that even in a bad season would be at least self-protecting, if not exporting, might be added to the $7\frac{1}{2}$, or canal irrigation to the extent of one square mile in ten might be held amply sufficient to ensure the people in such a district against suffering from a dearth of food. The drought tract in the famine of 1860-61 extended over about 33,000 square miles, with a population of, at that time, about $13\frac{1}{2}$ millions. The 2,700 square miles irrigated last year in these Provinces should therefore be sufficient to protect fully 27,000 square miles of this, or may be said to insure 10 to 11 millions of people against famine.

The same, or something like it, holds true of all the groups of canals, perhaps preeminently so of those of Northern India where the normal rainfall is much less, and more liable to fail than in the moist climate of Bengal. The latter works, moreover, although the receipts have at last begun to show signs of exceeding the expenses, do not hold the reputation for the handsome direct profits yielded by those of Northern India or Madras and—like Sir Peter Teazle's world and people—are proportionately depreciated all round. It is not in ordinary years that their true value can be measured. For all the vast expenditure incurred in Orissa on the relief of the catastrophe of 1866 there remains nothing tangible to show, no single public work to put against the outlay. Such another drought may not occur again during the century, but the worth of the Orissa canals against such a possibility has already been noticed. Meanwhile, they combine a great deal more with insurance against famine. They are the high roads of a province peculiarly deficient in other means of communication. During 1866 it was not so much the want of food as the means of conveying it to the people, that proved the chief difficulty. Thousands were starving for want of the rice that a two days' run from Calcutta could have brought to False Point. A vast organization of artificial rivers now connects this port with cheap trade routes over the whole Delta from Midnapur almost to the Chilka Lake. Further, in addition to utilising a large water supply for irrigation and navigation, the canals are combined with embankments that serve as a protection from floods.

The rivers of Orissa bring down the accumulated waters of some 57,000 square miles of the Central Provinces. Coming

rapidly down from the mountains, their velocity is suddenly checked by the level Delta, and vast quantities of silt with which they are charged is consequently deposited in their beds. Their beds and banks have accordingly been raised above the surrounding country, and the rivers by degrees have come to run on the highest instead of on the lowest levels of their Delta. In the rainy season these come down in tremendous volumes greatly exceeding the capacity of their ordinary channels, the most destructive floods being the result—the Mahánadi alone in full flood has been estimated as a volume of 1,800,000 cubic feet per second—and the Uriya has in times past had as much reason to fear floods as droughts. Mr. Hunter, in his Orissa, gives a graphic account of the ruin wrought by a single flood in 1866, when over 1,000 square miles of land were submerged, the water lying from 3 to 10 feet deep in many cases for upwards of a month. Not only thousands of miserable families, but all animated nature that could creep or climb was driven to seek shelter. Canals, rafts, trees, every point of refuge above the surface of the water being crowded with creatures struggling for life. "A population of 1,508,365 souls suddenly found their homesteads submerged, and crops to the value of £3,109,472 were destroyed." A calamity that coming directly after the year of terrible famine is said to have "driven more than half the population out of house and home." In July 1872, Col. Haigh reports a similar disaster, 1,000 square miles being inundated in the Púri delta alone.

As with famines, it was not alone the people who suffered, a heavy loss was entailed on Government. Ever since the time of British occupation these floods have involved large remissions of rent and a considerable outlay necessarily spent in repairs to old works. Previous to 1866-67 this, according to Mr. Hunter, represented an annual charge of £13,500: and the same authority, who, not being an irrigation, but a civil officer and a director of statistics, can hardly be accused of any bias, further says, a "careful examination of the statistics leads me to believe that the general loss of revenue," including remissions on account of floods and droughts, charges for famine relief works and reduction in rental made by Settlement Officers not only present, but prospective, "due to the uncontrolled water supply of Orissa, amounted to £100,000 a year." Now, the entire annual interest charge on the whole system of Orissa canals is at present only some £81,000! To the people the loss by these floods is unascertainable. In parts of the Púri district, 78 square miles were "left waste for fear of the floods," and "the rent of lands under tillage reduced to one-fifth of the natural rates." The Government was committed to large expenditure on embankments before the irrigation schemes were proposed, and after the

events of 1866 must have carried out some scheme of complete protection from floods. In the schemes as carried out, this protection is in fact a more prominent feature than provision for irrigation, and the area protected from floods will be larger than that watered by canals. In the Puri delta irrigation was calculated for 350,000 acres, protection being required for 640,000. The total area protected in the Mahanadi delta, with a population of 890,000, being estimated at over one million acres.

In estimating therefore the financial value of irrigation in Bengal, great allowance must be made for capital that is, strictly speaking, chargeable to other heads. After the disaster of drought and flood had caused such widespread ruin in Orissa, it was found necessary in 1867 to renew the settlement on the old terms for a further period of 30 years, and therefore, it is not till the end of the century that any adjustment of the demand can be made. But the works are only in their infancy and must be judged much more by their future than by their past. Throughout the Province they are gradually substituting security and wealth for chronic poverty and famine, and there is no reason why they should not ultimately be financially as successful as similar works under similar conditions in the Madras deltas have become.

Among the most important of the measures recommended for India by the recent Commission is 'Improvements in Agriculture'; and if the introduction of new crops, the substitution of the more for the less valuable, and the better cultivation and increased yield of the ordinary ones, be improvements in Agriculture, the value of Indian canals is in this respect second only to their merits as works of insurance. Something may have been done by Agricultural Departments, Cawnpore ploughs, experimental farms; much more undoubtedly by the introduction of such staples as tea, chinchona, and potatoes, but it is probable that the development of canal-grown wheat, rice, indigo and sugar has done more towards increasing the wealth of the people generally, than all other agricultural improvements together. The manner in which the cultivation of these more valuable staples has followed the introduction of irrigation is remarkable all over India. In the Punjab and North-West Provinces it is obvious to everyone. He who runs may literally read if he but look out from the window of his railway carriage as he passes from one district to another.

It is not easy to get with any exactness information as to the state of agriculture at the beginning of the century in this part of India. Agricultural and economic statistics are institutions of modern growth. Even now, they are often meagre and incomplete. But the extent of the develop-

ment that has taken place is a marked feature in almost every report that has been compiled. The Western Jumna Canals were partly opened by the British Government in 1820, and a reference to the old settlement reports of 1828, shows that the produce of the districts was then mainly the coarse and less valuable grains like *jawar*, *bajra* and *mote*. The cultivation of wheat was something merely nominal, being "dependent on deep wells which were few in number and very costly." "Rice could only be grown in the low-lying lands." Although there is evidence to show that sugar-cane was grown to some extent in the time of Sháh Jehán, its cultivation had been abandoned as the old Moghul canal fell into disuse and was then "hardly known." The older inhabitants of the district tell the same story. Even in 1840 the settlement officer, Mr. Gubbins, speaks of the "comparative recent introduction of sugar-cane with occasional wheat" in the Gohána and Rohtak tehsils. These three crops may be said to have been practically introduced into these districts with the canal. Outside of the irrigated limits the conditions of 1828 hold at the present time: from the village at the tail of the last water-course to the Desert, no attempt to grow anything but the coarser grains is made. The average acreage for the last ten years from this canal amounts to—

Wheat 144,181 acres.
Rice 44,352 do.
Sugar cane 37,969 do.

But this does not represent anything like the quantities that are now grown. In many places increased dampness, however objectionable from a sanitary point of view, often enables crops to be grown without irrigation; in others, the cultivator sure of canal water if necessary, trusts to timely falls of rain, and in many seasons does not take it at all. The effect of a dry season is greatly to extend the normal irrigation, and in 1869 over 210,000 acres of wheat were irrigated: in 1878 nearly as many. It would be a moderate estimate to assume that a quarter of a million acres of wheat are grown that without the canal would not have been. Taking the average rate of produce per acre for the last ten years at the very moderate average of 14, instead of the 19½ maunds given in the return, and the selling price at 20 seers for the rupee, the value of this crop in the Karnal, Hissár and Delhi districts represents £700,000 annually.

The value of the sugar-cane crop is variously estimated at from £300,000 to £500,000. The exportation to the Westward as registered at four stations on the customs line for 3 years before its abolition, averaged over 700,000 maunds of *gúr*, that must at least have represented a quarter of a million sterling, and after a careful estimate, it seems safely within the mark to

take the value of these three crops in the Western Jumna canal districts at $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling annually. If the barley and other grains irrigated and unirrigated be allowed to stand against what would have been grown in the absence of the canals, the whole of this would represent additional food produced, and, *à fortiori* additional wealth to the people in some form or other.

On the other side of the Jumna, Mr. Guthrie writing, in 1807 regarding the Sahāranpur district of which he was then in charge, and which then comprised the present districts of Mirat, Sahāranpur, Muzaffarnagar, and a part of Bulandshahr, gives a very carefully compiled table of the area estimated under several crops. Sugar-cane he estimates at 13,750 acres "for the most part made into *gur*, very little indeed being refined or manufactured into sugar." The Revenue Report for 1879 shows within this same area 107,570 acres of canal-irrigated sugar-cane alone, and the cane generally grown in 1807 is now everywhere considered the most inferior of the four sorts cultivated. The chief staples in Mr. Guthrie's time were "wheat, gram, rice and barley." The wheat he estimates at 114,249 acres. "Indigo" he says, is not cultivated to any extent." It is not even mentioned in his table. Cotton much the same; he estimates only 17,000 acres. In 1879 under canal irrigation alone there were grown on the same area 48,000 acres of cotton, 63,500 acres of indigo and 383,355 acres of wheat.

Similarly in the Muzaffarnagar district, between 1841 and 1871—canal irrigation being introduced about 1855—the rice crop is reported to have doubled, and to have improved as much in quality as quantity. *Munji* rice, which is almost as valuable as sugar-cane, having superseded the commoner varieties, "while," says the *North-West Provinces Gazetteer*, "owing to the increased area brought under cultivation, the coarser grains and fodder crops have in no way diminished."

It cannot be said that the indigo industry followed the canals, but in the North-West it undoubtedly received a great impetus from their introduction and has enormously increased since; the value irrigated by the Ganges canal being by itself estimated at about half a million annually, and the recently opened Agra canal already irrigating nearly 10,000 acres.

The total outlay on the Northern group of canals including the Agra canal amounts to £6,770,707; the value of the crops watered during 1878-79 amounted to over twelve millions—£12,007,006—of which, among other items there were upwards of one million acres of wheat and 205,000 acres of sugar-cane, worth about four and two millions sterling respectively, and if the statement of the Famine Commission may be accepted, "that one-half of such crops would"

without exaggeration, not have been raised if the canals had not existed," the wealth of the Northern Provinces was during the year increased by almost the total cost of the group.

Passing South it may be noticed concerning Behar, that since the opening of the Sone canals, the sugar trade in parts of Shahabad has already increased ten-fold. And the irrigation that in 1873-74 saved crops valued at over half a million, could now, if necessary, be quadrupled. Even in lower Bengal the people are beginning to recognize the superior value of canal irrigated crops. The certainty given to all agricultural operations and the increased yield obtained even in years of average rainfall, have been alluded to in a previous article; the fertilizing matter carried down from the hills in suspension contributing in no small degree to enrich lands that as a rule are cropped year after year with no rest and no manure. It has been often stated by Bengal officers, and probably as often disputed, that the comparative outturn of irrigated against unirrigated crops, was under many circumstances as 2 to 1, and in support of this, it may be interesting to notice that seven hundred distinct measurements in the Mahánadi district in 1877-78 gave results as follows:—

	Maunds per acre of paddy	of straw.
Yield of irrigated rice	26·61	26·87
Yield of unirrigated rice	10·72	12·08
Balance in favour of irrigation	15·89	14·79

which, at the rates then prevailing, equalled Rs. 17 per acre against a water rate of Re. 1½. The total irrigated area of Bengal that year was 400,000 acres, and the value of the crops estimated at £ 800,000, so that in a season not specially abnormal, in a province least favourable to irrigation, the canals may be credited with £ 400,000 of indirect returns.

Irrigation in Sind is not so much a protection against famine—for having no rainfall, no risks can be run—but without it neither agriculture nor population could exist, and the ten million acres under the inundation canals is so much land producing food that would otherwise relapse into barren waste.

The three great deltaic systems of Madras from which such splendid direct returns are realized are even more striking instances of immensely increased wealth to the people. The condition of the Godavery and Kistna deltas prior to the construction of the canals was miserable in the extreme. They had been in great part depopulated by the famine of 1833, a large extent of country was subsequently submerged by a cyclonic wave. The difficulties of communication rendered it unprofitable to raise grain for export. There was little or no trade. The *ryots* frequently could not meet the Government demand, and remissions

had constantly to be made. The district now contributes a revenue second only to that of Tanjore. The returns show for an average year as carried by the canals 22½ million of ton miles for goods, carried at about one-sixth of the land rate, and 31 million of passenger miles. They may be said to have created over two million acres of annual food crops and to have transformed a mere hamlet into the thriving port of Coconada, and developed almost all the export trade of the two deltas. The entire export trade from the united Godavery ports in 1845 amounted to £90,777; the imports to £38,848. In 1871-72, or twenty years after the opening of the main canals, the exports had risen to £866,633, the imports to £186,239. While during the recent famine in Madras, the quantity of rice exported by sea in 1876-77 from the one port of Coconada alone, was valued at £870,000, and a still larger quantity is said to have been exported by land. The total value of this crop raised on the Godavery and Kistna deltas, says Mr. Cunningham in a recent pamphlet on finance, "where, but for the canals, not a blade would have been seen, has been officially computed at five millions sterling, or about four times the entire capital spent up to the end of that year on both." The value of such an oasis as this, while over the most part of Southern India every district was importing food for the 36 millions more or less in want, can hardly be exaggerated.

All this increased production must represent vastly increased wealth to the people, and to take the meanest view of it, must also represent a much greater tax paying capability. Irrigation might not only be credited with additional land revenue, but possibly with additional income tax. But it is not merely as a means of adding to the exchequer, which would be only another form of direct returns, that the financial value can be measured. The Government of India is in the position of a great landlord, and as such, is financially deeply interested in the prosperity of its tenantry. This increased prosperity in some of the older canal districts is most marked. The staple food of the people over considerable areas has changed from the coarser to the finer grains, wheat has now largely supplied the place of barley, millet, or gram; and if not much of 'light,' surely something of 'sweetness,' in the form of sugar must have contributed to the luxury of the cultivator. In many cases brick houses have taken the places of mud huts. If the agriculturalist has not acquired wealth, his banker most certainly has. The greatly increased sums spent by the canal villager on his weddings and feasts is proverbial. The increased value of irrigated land is presumably only proportionate to the increased value of land generally; both are of course equally indebted to the advantage of settled Government and the enormous benefits

of British rule generally, but land that will grow valuable crops, independent of the rains, is equally of course worth more than land that is at the mercy of the season, and brings a correspondingly higher price. The ordinary rental of irrigated land in Northern India is doubled; in some districts of Madras it is four fold; in Tanjore it is said to be ten-fold. The selling price in Northern India is certainly 2 to 3 times, in parts of Mysore is quoted as high as 14 times, that of the unirrigated.

One of the natural resources of wealth, in great part lost to India by former unfortunate denudations, was undoubtedly its forests, and as an assistance to restoring these, canals are invaluable. In a few years long lines of trees follow the banks, or can easily be made to follow each channel as opened. These lines of trees assist the retention and absorption of the rainfall, if indeed they do not increase it, and so by keeping the soil naturally moist, economise the necessity for artificial watering, and supply, in some measure, fuel to take the place of the manure of which the cultivator almost entirely robs the soil.

They provide moreover great stores of artificial power available for the development of other forms of industry, and to assist in providing the diversity of occupations and the fostering of new trades, which is admittedly another of the wants of the country. And if cotton and sugar and corn mills have not extended as they might, it is possible that the attention of canal officers has not been sufficiently turned in that direction, or that Government has not seen its way to initiating what private enterprise in this country is especially long in undertaking.

And finally the expenditure on the construction of these works in itself adds to the capital of the cultivating classes. There are no public works of which so large a proportion of the outlay finds its way back so quickly to the pockets of the people. The principal items of expenditure are for land, earth-work, and bricks; the bulk of the payments for all of which go back, almost at once, to the people most immediately concerned.

Viewed as commercial undertakings, it has been shown that the returns are not merely satisfactory, but handsome. Viewed as works of public utility, their importance can hardly be overestimated; but while both may be fully accepted, the desirability of their extension must inevitably be first measured by the resources available.

How far such extensions may be desirable or even possible must be reserved for consideration hereafter.

E. E. OLIVER.

ART. IX.—INDIAN FOLKTALES.

WHAT SHOULD BE AND WHAT CAN BE DONE.

THE growing interest in Indian Folklore, now that the Folklore Society proposes to actively extend its work to India induces us to make some remarks on the subject. Fairy Tales form naturally the most widely interesting section of the folklore collectors' work, and that which is most likely to be mainly studied, at any rate at first. We shall therefore confine our remarks to them.

The sciences connected with the study of nature are the result of the study of observations—they are the result, that is, firstly of the labors of the collector, secondly of the collator. The collector gathers the information which the collator compares and examines, and from which he draws his conclusions and eventually forms the science. These divisions of labor though perfectly distinct are interdependent, are of equal importance and demand the exercise of intelligence and discernment in an equal degree. Inexact observations beget false inferences, careless examination leads to false theories and both to false conclusions. The collector cannot be too cautious in recording his facts, or too careful that they are presented in their proper light. In the case of such a science as that now known as Folklore, the importance of these considerations cannot be exaggerated, dealing as it does with the languages, creeds, ideas and habits of thought, of many widely differing nations. It is absolutely necessary for the purposes of collation, since men cannot know every language or think with every people, that the legends, beliefs, superstitions, customs, proverbs of the world should be translated and presented in a dress intelligible to the examiners—reduced as it were to certain denominators. Stories, then, inexactly translated, customs recorded in misleading terms, beliefs presented in a wrong light, legends containing references unexplained or incorrectly explained, are useless for the purposes of collection and therefore useless altogether; since a fact of Folklore unfitted for comparison is merely an idle tale. The Folklore collector should therefore first make himself as sure as he can, that he quite understands what he is recording; secondly, that he translates his record correctly, having especial regard to the idea which the terms he employs will give rise to in the minds of his readers; thirdly, that all doubtful terms used, if some be unavoidable, and all references, are carefully explained; and lastly, with a view to avoiding misconceptions as

far as possible, he should always, when practicable, give the original in full. The originals of tales have also this advantage,—they are in the language of the vulgar, and frequently contain forms and words not found in the tongue of the educated, and therefore not in books. These forms are not only quaint but frequently antique, and give those clues to the philologist by which only a modern tongue can be satisfactorily traced to its origin. How deficient we are in such data in India, only the philologist and worker in languages can fully appreciate. Such seem to us to be the principles upon which all books of Folktales should proceed.

The above reflections rise prominently in the mind on perusing little Miss Stokes's book of Indian Fairy Tales—a book that can never fail to be interesting, but has missed being valuable, despite the elaborate notes, and the able introduction, because its method is not sound; the fault of so many books of a similar nature. The proximate sources of the stories are native body-servants—a circumstance which should at once put the Folklore collector on his guard. We all know how susceptible are servants to the influences around them, and that the narrators of Miss Stokes's tales have felt the influence, unconsciously it is true, of the Christians whom they served, is apparent from their tales. The stories were evidently very carefully collected from them; so it must be presumed that the aberrations observable in them from the purely native cast of sentiment which they should possess, are due to the narrator, not to the collector. The lesson taught is that the future collector is to avoid native servants' tales, or to accept them with great caution, and only after close investigation as to origin and the bearings of the details on the religion of the narrator. Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days* has just the same fault;—her tales came from an ayah, who, if we recollect rightly, was a Christian. Again the notes to Miss Stokes's books, valuable, complete and searching as they are in some respects, are incomplete in that very respect in which all notes to books of original research should be most complete, *viz.*, the explanation of local coloring, of religious references and expressions; a point in which it must be observed, most folktale collections fail. Collectors are in too great a hurry: they keep on adding to their list without sufficiently investigating the value of each item of the total; without stopping to render what they collect valuable by leaving nothing unexplained which is likely to mislead.

We shall perhaps best illustrate our meaning and the principles on which we think all collections of folktales should be compiled by dissecting "*Loving Laili*," one of Miss Stokes's stories. *Loving Laili* purports to be told by the Hindu ayah Dũknĩ, who says she

got her tales from her husband, Mochi, born at Calcutta, and brought up at Benares; but we should say from internal evidences that the Hindus of Benares got this tale from some local Muhammadan source. It is in fact the story of *Laili and Majnûn*, a distinctly Muhammadan tale and the theme of several Arabic and Persian poems of considerable merit, written by Nizâmî, Khusrû, Jâmî and others: that by Nizâmî which we have now before us, is a poem of a high order. It is doubtful whether the story is Aryan, and it is most likely of Arabic origin. At any rate the names of the hero and heroine are Arabic, Laili meaning probably *lail*, the night, and Majnûn, possessed of a devil (*jinn*) and, figuratively, mad with love. Also in the older poems the scene of the tale is in Arabia, e.g. Sayyad Omrî is Majnûn's father, Majnûn itself being merely a nickname, the real name being Kais; Laili marries one Ibn Salâm; Majnûn wanders in the Nijid mountains and his friend and saviour is the celebrated Naufal. In the Persian and Arabic tales, Laili is an ugly old hag for love of whom Majnûn pines, though Nizâmî makes her beautiful for the purpose of making her a model of womanly good sense, sweetness and constancy. In Dûknî's tale it is Laili that pines for Majnûn, but she is an ugly old woman that becomes beautiful at times, so that it can hardly be said that the tale has changed its original complexion by passing through Hindu hands.

Let us now examine the names in Dûknî's tale. Majnûn's friend, Hussain Mahâmat, is obviously Hussain Muhammad, or Muhammad Hossain, as the Mussulman name usually runs, though the Hindu name of Mûnsûkh or Mûnsûkh Râjâ is given to Laili's father. Chamman Bâsâ, the wicked Râjâ, living in the beautiful garden, is (?) Chamman Bâdshâh (Bâsâ being according to the notes to the book a corruption of Bâdshâh), the Garden King, a Persian expression. Of the names King Dantâl, Majnûn's father, and the Phalânâ country, Laili's native land, we can offer no explanation, but they certainly have a Hindu look, and the names connected with the eminently Hindu incident in the tale which makes Laili jump into the fish's mouth and remain there twelve years, are of course all Hindu. Thus the Bhâgirathî River, where the fish lives, is the purely Sanskrit patronymic name of the Ganges, and the fish Rohu himself must be the classical demon (*dartya*) Râhu, who periodically swallows up the sun and moon and so causes eclipses, while his conceiving Laili, when inside him, to be a Rakshas is solely a Hindu idea. The whole of this incident has, however, the appearance of being an interpolation, and in its main lines, the tale does not differ from the Arabic and Persian versions.

Now the criticism we offer here is this. There is nothing in the notes to shew that the tale is not a Hindu tale; and not a word is

said as to origin or in explanation of the proper names, of which last we observe as a rule, none is offered in the notes to folk stories in general. It is a pity to omit this point, as the meaning of the proper names is often a guide to the meaning of the tales themselves, and then etymology is always an important feature. In such a tale as this, coming from the mouth of a Hindu, to record simply, "told by Dûknî," is misleading.

According to the translations given to the world, "God" plays an important part in many folktales, but how seldom are we told what word in the original stood for "God," though it is manifest that, with non-Christian and non-Muhammadan populations, the word "God" may stand for ideas varying to an extreme degree. The two great religions of India unquestionably amalgamate to some extent among the lower orders. The ignorant among the natives, whose name is legion, like the Romans of old, are always ready to add any superstition that they may happen upon to their already long list. In the Punjab and Northern India and probably also in the South among the lower classes, Muhammadanism and Hinduism are not clearly separated. We know of Hindus who believe in the efficacy of the *Kalima*, and of Mussulmâns who believe in the power of Bhairûn (Bhairaba.) Indeed, in the Punjab the amalgamation of the religions is carried so far as to lead to a community of customs at marriages, deaths, etc., among the lower classes. Be this as it may, in folktale collections, the very important word "God" seldom meets with any explanation, much less with the exhaustive treatment it deserves, though a moment's thought will show that a tale introducing "God," where the word is not explained, may to Christian ears be given so false a complexion as to render it quite useless for scientific purposes.

The word "angel" is another stumbling-block with regard to which, in Indian tales, the question which always arises is, does "angel" represent any one Hindu word for a super-human being? The Mussulman *farishta* and the Buddhist *devatâ* correspond apparently to our *angel*, but is the Hindu *dev* or *devitâ* an *angel*? In coming across such a word as "angel" put into the mouth of Hindu, one would like, on turning to the notes, to see an explanation of it, but as a rule none is ever offered. If the Hindu narrator employed *farishta*, what idea would the word convey to his mind? What notion would he have of such a being as Jabrâîl or Gabriel? The moral of all this is that your folktale is useless without proper local explanations, usually so conspicuous by their absence. Pretty and interesting, no doubt, many folktales will prove in the nursery, but they will be useless on the shelves of a scientific library, and, as nursery tales, they are hardly worth the trouble of recording, since the creations of our popular story-tellers are good enough to

afford all the amusement and instruction to the infantile mind that is necessary.

So far as regards the aims of the collector; let us now say a few words regarding the collector himself. We have said before that all that is valuable in folklore is the result of two kinds of work, collection and collation. It is not given to every one to be a collator. Even where the will exists, want of learning, want of leisure, want of strength after the necessary labors of the day, want of access to good libraries, prevent many who have otherwise the ability and the desire to do good work in this direction. But that any body can be a collector, is the lesson taught by such works as Miss Stokes's *Indian Fairy Tales*, Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days*. Every student of folklore, every enquirer in India who would study the thoughts of those about him, owes a debt of gratitude to the eminent antiquary who hit upon the happy idea of making use of his little girl to add to the general stock of knowledge. All English children born in India talk the local vernacular, and, being little, they command the sympathies of story-tellers. There are many thousands of mothers in this country who have leisure enough, heaven knows! to record the tales from the lips of their children, and surely among them there must be some who have the discernment and ability to do so correctly. That many will have acquired the knowledge necessary to annotate the tales in a style requisite to render them scientifically valuable is not to be expected, but up and down India there are many capable men to be found, in the Government services and elsewhere, able to explain expressions and allusions not understood, and few of them we take it would turn a deaf ear to applications for assistance. How much that we hear of the *ennui* of female Indian life (and of military male life too for that matter), would disappear if an interest were taken in the populations around us. Mr. Ralston seems to think that the work of collection is pretty well completed in Europe, *i. e.* of collection in a general kind of way, but in India and Asia it has hardly begun. The field there is wide and in no part of the world would the prospects of a good harvest be greater. India teems with superstitions; she is rife with stories. Every race, every tribe, and they are well nigh innumerable, every sect, every caste and we might say every trade, has its peculiar customs, its tenets, its legends, its traditions, ghosts, hobgoblins, demons, devils, witches, ogres, fairies and angels, churels, bhuts, prets, devis, ghouls, dains, kutnis, paris, devatas, farishtas, fly the air and haunt the earth. Saints work miracles and jogis enchant around us. Your syce's daughter is possessed of a devil;

your compound well is haunted, and a demon lives in the *pipal*, tree above it. The curious old man inhabiting that rickety old temple outside your gate, works a miracle every week of his life. Ask your bearer what you do at "the Lodge," that dread *jadughar*, and you will be astonished at your own proceedings. Ask your punkah cooley how he thinks the *Bara Sahib* brought the canal into the station, and he will give you information that is at least new. Looked at as the home of supernatural beings, the dreariest, flattest station in India is full of the liveliest interest.

Just as "any" body can collect fairy tales, so "any" place in India will do to collect in. Sandy Sirsa, as well as romantic Kangra, prosaic Allahabad as well as priest-ridden Benares. To go South, what a fund of superstition lies stored up at Tanjore; the Seven Pagodas, Conjeveram,—at Sanchi, Amraoti, Kaili, Somnath, and further East, at Rangoon, Rome, Paghan, and any number more places one might mention.

And, lastly, the favourable reception accorded to all collections of folktales whatever country has been the subject of study, is surely inducement enough for those to commence who have a mind that way, be they men or women. No doubt, mistakes have been made, and much useless trouble has been taken by those already in the field, but this is no cause for despondency. Folklore, like every other scientific study, improves by experience; we profit by the mistakes of our predecessors. In order to gather the grain, we must also gather the chaff, the amount of which need not make us despair; it will all be duly separated and cast away in time. No honest collector need fear that his work will be thrown away, for the folklore collectors have a definite scientific aim in view, the adding of their quota to the historical records of man. Folklore must take its place side by side with philology, ethnology and physiology, to show us why we now are what we are. Its facts are links in the chain of historical proof without which it can never be complete: nor can they be disregarded, as they are indispensable to the study of religion, a study that must always be of paramount interest to mankind. To those of the "unlearned" who would do something with their spare hours, we would recommend folktales; for it requires no "learning" to be accurate, patient and energetic, which are after all the qualifications most necessary, and, as regards encouragement, the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and of the *Folklore Record* are always open to receive the results of all honest research.

THE QUARTER.

THE following appeared as a Postscript to the Quarter in the Calcutta edition of our last number :—

In view of the abandonment of Kandahar by the Government, Sardar Shere Ali Khán, late Wali of Kandahar, is making arrangements for leaving the city and taking up his residence in India. Conflicting reports regarding the Kurdish rising are in circulation, the latest is, that Russian troops have been withdrawn from the frontier of Persia. The illness of the Viceroy for some time was a cause of considerable anxiety. He has been laid up at Allahabad with a severe attack of intermittent fever, and is now happily in a fair way of recovery. Sir Donald Stewart succeeds Sir Frederick Haines as Commander-in-Chief.

The Santhals, one of the few aboriginal tribes of India, are at present in a state of ferment ; and fears are entertained of a rising of some sort amongst them. The sub-division of Jamtara seems to be the centre of disaffection. Preparations for the forthcoming census appear to be, if not the cause, at least the occasion of considerable excitement ; and the Deputy Magistrate's house at Jamtara has been burned to the ground. An arrest had been made of some Santhals who were instigating an opposition to the taking of the census ; and the bungalow was fired the same night. We quote the following from the *Englishman* :—

No further act of violence is reported from Jamtara or the disturbed neighbourhood. It is, indeed, expected that whatever may be their purposes and plans, the Santhals are not likely to commit themselves to any overt act at least for the next fortnight or so. Early in January, however, takes place the *Bandhna* festival, one of the great national festivals of the people. The Santhals gather together in very large bodies to celebrate the occasion, and natural apprehensions are felt as to the consequences of their gathering in crowds like this in their present frame of mind. Some rash and thoughtless act on the part of some mischief-monger or evilly-disposed person, during this time, may, it is very justly feared, precipitate a disaster. Should the festival be got over without any disturbance, there is a prospect that the excitement will subside, at least for a time ; for we fear that the present state of affairs at Jamtara is but the outcome of a long series of Santhali troubles, connected chiefly with the

late land settlements. Every precaution is being taken to provide against any outbreak during the *Bandhna* festival, and to restore order. Strong police reinforcements have been sent and are still being forwarded to all stations throughout the Parganás. Strong bodies of the railway police have been put on guard on the line and stations in these parts. On Saturday a more efficacious proceeding was resolved upon. It was determined to send up a detachment of troops to Jamtara and to march them through the country thence to Naya Dumka. It is thought that this course will exercise a sobering influence on the unruly spirits among the Santháls. A similar measure was adopted in 1871, when signs of a Santháli outbreak appeared at Nya Dumka. On that occasion troops were marched through the heart of the Santhál Parganás, from Bhagalpur to Nya Dumka, with the very best results.

December 31st, 1880.

THE history of the past ten weeks has been one of discussion rather than of action. When the year opened, negotiations were in progress with the Khaibar tribes for the future control of the Pass from which it had been determined to withdraw all British troops. These negotiations have been brought to a successful conclusion, and it has been arranged that the evacuation shall be carried out between the 15th and 20th instant. The disposal of the posts from Jamrud to Lundikhaneh will, it is understood, be somewhat as follows:—

The sarai and fort Jamrud will alone be maintained by the Punjab Government; Mackeson's bridge will be held by watchmen or tribal escorts; Fort Abdurrahman, Lala China, Shagai, and the Main Ridge and Red Ridge barracks at Ali Masjid will be made over to Abdul Nur, Kuki Khel, who will engage to hold them. The Ali Masjid Fort will be garrisoned by 100 Jezailchis; but the following posts will be dismantled:—Fort Michel, Bluff Tower Forts, Fitzgerald, Birch, and Sam Browne. The barracks in Lundi Kotal Camp, together with Fort Tytler and the Lundikhana Sarai, are also to be dismantled, the material being sold by auction on the spot, and the work of demolition has begun.

We are indebted to the *Pioneer* for the text of the agreement entered into between the Government of India and the Khaibar headmen for the maintenance of the Pass:—

1. On the understanding that the British Government will maintain political relations with us, while at the same time our independence will continue to be fully recognized, we are bound

to exclude all other influence and not to admit the interference of any other Power between ourselves and the British Government.

2. In consideration of receiving certain allowances, the amount of which Government has engaged to fix, we hereby undertake the responsibility of preserving order and security of life and property through the Khaibar Pass.

3. All matters affecting the Pass arrangements, and especially the security of the road, shall be submitted to a combined jirgah of all the Afridi tribes. Through this jirgah, arrangements will be made such as will provide for the security of the lives and property of all who use the Khaibar road without distinction, local being entitled to equal protection with foreign traffic, and care will be taken that no intertribal or personal feuds are pursued on or near the road or posts.

4. No trade or travellers will be allowed to enter the Pass without an order authorizing them to proceed, which will be furnished to all, together with a sufficient guard for protection.

Should any prospect of danger present itself owing to the existence or likelihood of any disturbance on or near the road, we will be responsible for closing the Pass, giving notice to that effect to the Khan of Lalpura and to the Political Officer at Jamrud, and will further make due provision for the safety of any trade or travellers within the Pass.

5. Our responsibility for the security of the road is independent of aid from Government in the form of troops. It lies within the discretion of Government to retain its troops within the Pass or to withdraw them and to re-occupy it at pleasure.

6. We will provide such number of men as Government may direct to carry on the duties of Jezailchis, and we consider that these are absolutely necessary to enable us to render the road secure. These men having their head-quarters at Jamrud, will be subject to the inspection of the Political Officer, and all arrangements which we make for the distribution of their duties shall be reported to him. Should we wish to employ them in any other duty than that of protecting the road, the permission of the Political Officer must be obtained. We fully understand these Jezailchis are not a Government force, and that, although maintained at Government expense, they have been accorded merely as an additional means of enabling us to fulfil our engagements.

7. So long as we are in receipt of the Khaibar allowances, the right of collecting tolls rests with the British Government alone. We have no claim to any further payments from traders or travellers.

8. All offences committed on the road shall be dealt with by

the united jirgah of all the tribes, whether individuals or sections of tribes are concerned. The jirgah shall inflict punishment after the manner of our tribal customs, and compensation will be awarded to the injured party or parties. The action taken on the commission of any offence, or in regard to the punishment of the offenders, shall be reported to the Political Officer, through whom any compensation that is awarded will be paid. For the latter purpose, fines and compensation are liable to be deducted from the allowances made by Government.

9. In consideration of the allowances of which we shall be in receipt, we further bind ourselves not to commit dacoity, highway robbery, or murder in British territory. Any transgression of this condition will make our allowances liable to forfeiture in payment of fine or compensation due on this account.

10. All arrangements that we make in fulfilling our responsibility for the protection of the road shall be reported to the Lieutenant-Governor. All convoys wishing to proceed through the Pass shall be despatched periodically under a guard, and we are responsible for all trade or travellers admitted within the Pass.

11. We will maintain, until further orders, the standing posts or chowkis which have hitherto been kept up along the road by the tribes and have been paid for from the allowances. The tribal watchmen who occupy them will be employed either in guarding certain localities, or in forming part of the escort on the periodical convoys.

12. Of the Government buildings situate in the Pass we consent to take charge of some, the security of which we guarantee, the rest being dismantled by Government. We engage to hold the fort of Ali Masjid, understanding that Government will grant an additional company of 100 Jezailchis for this special duty.

13. We undertake to guarantee the safety of the Political Officer or other official who may have occasion to visit the Khaibar Pass, provided that sufficient notice be given us beforehand.

14. It is understood that the boundary fixed by the Treaty of Government, west of Lundikhana, is the limit of our responsibilities. This is liable to subsequent alteration at the discretion of Government.

15. Permanent arrangements will be made by which posts or expresses can be forwarded at any time, night or day.

16. We are prepared to take charge of the Khaibar Pass in the manner above indicated from Lundikhana to Ali Masjid, and again from Ali Masjid to Jamrud, at once, or so soon as Government directs the withdrawal of troops from the whole of this road, or any part of it. Meanwhile the tribes will preserve their present obligations.

This movement, being part of a plan long since understood to have been determined on, has excited neither surprise nor criticism.

It has been far otherwise with the decision of the Government to withdraw from Kandahar, which has been the subject not only of opposing Minutes by our leading military authorities, but of hot debate in Parliament, and prolonged discussion without its walls.

The final decision of the Government, together with the grounds on which it is based, is announced in a despatch of the Marquis of Hartington to the Governor-General in Council, dated 11th November last.

The following is the most important portion of this despatch :—

“ Her Majesty's Government, sharing the opinions of some of the most eminent Indian statesmen of past and present times, and, up to a very recent date, of every Minister of the Crown responsible for Indian policy, consider that there exists no such danger or apprehension of danger to the security of India from possible foreign invasion as would justify the Government in taking measures which must certainly lead immediately to very heavy additions to their large military expenditure, which will cause a constant strain on the organization of the Native Army, and which will almost certainly involve us in future complications and difficulties, the nature of which it is easy to anticipate, though their exact form cannot be predicted. They are of opinion that recent experience has done nothing to strengthen the arguments of those who desire, as a military measure, to advance the Indian frontier, and much to verify the forebodings of those who were opposed to that policy. The advances of the Russian frontier which have taken place in recent years were foreseen, and their influence upon our position in India was deliberately considered, by Lord Lawrence and other Indian statesmen, on whose advice the Home Government repeatedly declined to permit itself to be committed to a policy of military extension. Those advances, although they have been continuous and steady, have not been effected without great difficulties, both of a military and administrative character. They have secured to Russia no position of formidable strength; they have added nothing to her military resources; and they have been and are still attended by all the disadvantages which had been anticipated, as the result of an indefinite extension of her military position in an unproductive region inhabited by uncivilized and hostile tribes.

“ Her Majesty's Government are unable to admit that the mere fact of the existence of Russian military positions some hundred miles nearer to the North-Western frontier of India constitutes in itself any cause for anxiety, or for apprehending the possibility of an invasion of India from that quarter. On the other hand, the consequences of any interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan have been precisely those which had been foreseen and apprehended by the opponents of this policy. It has been proved that there existed no organized military power in Afghanistan which could resist the advance of the British army, or prevent the occupation of any position in that country. But the difficulties of permanent occupation, or of supporting by a military force any Government imposed on the people by the British power, have been exemplified to the fullest extent. The large force which recently occupied Kabul and the neighbouring country, and the line of communication through the Khyber Pass, was found to be barely

sufficient to enforce the administration of a temporary government over a comparatively small portion of the country. The experiment of supporting a Native Government by military assistance at Kandahar has been found to entail equally onerous sacrifices, and it has been, in fact, so far discredited that most of those who still desire the maintenance of direct British influence in that quarter openly advocate its annexation and administration by the Government of India. It must be remembered, when the annexation of Kandahar is advocated on account of its strategic importance that it is not merely a question of the occupation of that position. The boundaries of the province over which it was intended Sher Ali should rule have never been defined, but it is clear that the extent of territory which must be governed by any authority which may be established at Kandahar must be very large. Unless the districts which extend in one direction towards the dominions of the Amir of Kabul, and in others towards Persia and Herat, be reduced under some settled form of Government, the power which occupies Kandahar must be involved in continual embarrassments and complications on every side. The occupation of Kandahar would, therefore, certainly involve the administration and the military occupation of Kelat-i-Ghilzai on the one side, Farah on the other, and an undefined territory in the direction of Herat.

"Your Excellency's military advisers would be able to form a more precise estimate of the force which would be required permanently to hold these positions, with their lines of communication, and to provide an adequate reserve; but I conceive that recent events have proved that it would not be safe to estimate that less than 20,000 men would be required for this purpose.

"But it is not only on the ground of its risk and costliness that Her Majesty's Government are strongly opposed to this policy. The expedition against the late Amir Sher Ali was undertaken with the object of punishing an act committed by him, which was held to be of an unfriendly and even insulting character. It was expressly declared that the British Government had no quarrel with the Afghan people, and that their treatment would depend on their own conduct. It is true that the Afghans have, notwithstanding these assurances, resisted the advance of our forces, and, in accordance with their semi-barbarous character, have frequently committed acts of cruelty and treachery totally inconsistent with the usages of civilized nations in war, even in the defence of their own country. But Her Majesty's Government cannot admit that such acts,—acts which must have been anticipated when the invasion was undertaken,—release them from the declarations which were made. They hold that nothing but the most imperative necessity of self preservation would justify them after such declarations in the annexation, against the will of the people, of Afghan territory. Attempts have been made to prove that the rule of the British Government would be willingly accepted by the inhabitants of Kandahar; but it is admitted by almost all those who are most competent to form an opinion, that the mass of the inhabitants of the territory which it would be necessary to annex would be bitterly opposed to the loss of their independence, and to the Government of a Power alien in race and religion.

"Apprehensions are entertained by some that the retirement from Kandahar would be regarded by the people of Afghanistan and of India as a confession of weakness, and such a result may be one of the inevitable result, of a policy which Her Majesty's present advisers have from the outset deplored. But in their opinion, the moral effect of a scrupulous adherence to declarations which have been made, and a striking and convincing proof given to the people and princes of India that the British Government have no desire for

further annexation of territory, could not fail to produce a most salutary effect in removing the apprehensions and strengthening the attachment of our Native allies throughout India and on our frontiers.

"Others, again, who have never shared the apprehensions which are entertained as to the military weakness of the Indian frontier, who would have done everything in their power to avert the late war, and who perhaps even now do not attach a high importance to the position of Kandahar, nevertheless deprecate its abandonment, because its possession or military occupation might satisfy those who are now disposed to apprehend danger from foreign invasion, and might prevent the recurrence of popular excitement on this subject both in India and at home. The Government are convinced of the grave evils which result from this cause, and from its tendency to distract the minds of those who are engaged in the administration of the Government of India from the important questions of internal policy, of finance, of the construction of necessary public works, and, above all, of the agrarian condition of the people, which are so closely connected with the prosperity, and even the security, of our Indian empire. Nor can they feel any confidence that the experience which has been gained during the last two years will have any more lasting effect than that which had been acquired 40 years ago, or that a similar combination of circumstances may not again lead the Government of India into a similar policy and be attended with similar results. Any means, therefore, which could reasonably be expected to lay to rest these apprehensions would have a great attraction for Her Majesty's Government.

"But they cannot believe that the measure which is now advocated would really satisfy the demands of those who propose it. They are inclined rather to believe that it would only be the first step towards still more extensive enterprise. In the Despatch of your predecessor's Government of the 7th July 1879, they said, in discussing the question of the retention of Kandahar, 'The local experience recently acquired by our expedition into Western Afghanistan has fully confirmed our previous impression that the strategic value of Kandahar exists only in connection with a system of frontier defence, much more extensive than any we now require or have ever contemplated.' Whether this be an accurate statement of the strategic value of Kandahar or not, it cannot, I think, be doubted that its acquisition as a permanent military post would quickly be followed by fresh apprehensions as to its security, and further demands for the completion of a system of defence of which it would be represented to constitute only a part.

"Although Her Majesty's Government have been influenced in the decision at which they have arrived, mainly by considerations of a broad political character, they are not insensible to the weight of the military opinions which attach great importance to the value of Kandahar as a strategic position. For the reasons I have indicated they do not consider the question of the military defence of the frontier against invasion by a formidable power, as an urgent one, but admitting its possible importance at some future time, they are of opinion that the military occupation of Kandahar, should it ever become necessary for the defence of the Indian empire, would be far more advantageously undertaken when an advance of some hostile power should have made it clear that not only the safety of India but the independence of Afghanistan is threatened. Whatever strategic advantages may be looked for from the occupation of Kandahar, they must be immensely increased by its occupation with the assent and good-will of the Afghan people, as a measure needful, not only for the defence of our own dominions, but for the protection of their independence. If the Afghans have ever been disposed to look with more friendship on either their Russian or Persian than

their British neighbour, it is not an unnatural result of the fear for the loss of their freedom which our past policy has been calculated to inspire. There is nothing in the character of the Afghan people which would lead to the belief that they would welcome invasion or subjection by any power whatever, and it appears to Her Majesty's Government not unreasonable to hope that a policy of complete withdrawal from Afghan territory, coupled with a steady abstinence from interference in their internal affairs, adopted after the signal vindication of our military superiority, will, if publicly announced and steadily adhered to, have the effect of converting these semi-civilized but brave tribes into useful allies of the British power.

"These are some of the considerations by which Her Majesty's Government desire that your Excellency in Council should be guided in the policy now to be adopted in Southern and Western Afghanistan. They regret that it has not hitherto appeared possible to withdraw the troops immediately from Kandahar, not only because the occupation must involve the continuance of a heavy military expenditure, but because they apprehend that, so long as it is maintained, local disturbances or renewed hostile combinations may make ultimate retirement more difficult than it would have been during the present temporary condition of tranquillity which has followed the total defeat of Ayub Khan.

"They, however, desire that your Excellency should steadily keep in view the paramount importance of effecting such withdrawal on the earliest suitable occasion.

"They recognize that it is as desirable in the province of Kandahar as it was in Northern Afghanistan to assist, if this be found possible in a limited time, in the establishment of some settled Government in the place of that which has been destroyed by the events of the recent campaign.

"The restoration of Kandahar to the dominions of Afghanistan under a powerful ruler would be the arrangement which Her Majesty's Government would prefer, as offering the best guarantees for permanence, and for the avoidance of internal dissensions. That solution would also probably be the only one which would enable the Amir of Kabul to establish his authority at Herat, and thus prevent the constant intrigues and conflicts for the possession of that place which, in the present disorganized condition of Afghanistan, appear inevitable. But it appears doubtful whether the position of Abdul Rahman is yet sufficiently established to enable him to assume the government of Kandahar, nor do I possess sufficient information to be able to judge whether the people of that province are prepared generally to accept his authority.

"If it should appear impossible at present to reunite Afghanistan under the rule of the Amir Abdul Rahman, an endeavour should be made to ascertain under what form, temporary or permanent, and under which of the Sirdars, provision may be made for the restoration of Native government. In any event, Her Majesty's Government consider it essential that, as in the case of Kabul, having assisted in the establishment of that form of government which appears to offer the best prospects of permanence, and to be most in conformity with the wishes of the people, the Government of India should make it clearly understood that the future ruler should be left to rely on his own resources, and that it is not their intention to interfere further in the internal affairs of Afghanistan in a manner which would involve the employment of Her Majesty's forces beyond the frontier.

"The mission of Mr. Lyall to Kandahar and the information which your Excellency has at your disposal, will enable you to form a more accurate judgment on the details of the policy to be adopted than can possibly be in my power. These, as well as the time for the final withdrawal of the

troops from Afghan territory, Her Majesty's Government leave with confidence to the decision of your Excellency in Council; but I have felt it my duty to place on record, for the information of your Excellency, in the plainest and strongest terms, the opinions which they entertain on the important question at issue, and the expression of the disapprobation with which they would view any measure involving the permanent occupation of Kandahar by British troops."

Among those who have recorded Minutes against the policy of the Government are His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, Baron Magdala, and Sir Frederick Roberts.

Finally, that policy has been made the occasion of a motion of condemnation by Lord Lytton in the House of Lords which has been carried against the Government by an overwhelming majority.

Hopes were entertained in some quarters that the publication of the secret correspondence between Sher Ali and the Russians discovered at Kabul would be followed by a change in the policy of the Home Government. It was forgotten that that policy had been deliberately adopted with a full knowledge of the contents of the correspondence, and there can be little doubt that the significance of these contents was at first over-estimated.

What the documents show is that General Skobeleff was despatched to Kabul in June 1878 with the view of establishing an alliance with the Amir, ostensibly as against any foreign Power by whom he might be attacked, but really, of course, as against the British; that a treaty was in all probability actually executed in pursuance of this purpose; that in reliance on the understanding therein embodied, and in pursuance of the advice of the Russian Envoy, the Amir assumed an attitude of defiance towards the British Government; that when threatened with hostilities as a consequence of the insult offered to Sir Neville Chamberlain's mission at Ali Masjid, he applied to the Russians for assistance, but was advised by General Skobeleff to make peace openly, while secretly preparing for war; that finally, when hostilities broke out and the Amir reminded General Kaufmann of his promise to aid him with troops, he was informed that troops could not be sent owing to the winter season, while at the same time, he was requested to send back the Russian representative then at Kabul.

The following passage in one of General Skobeleff's letters to Sher Ali has been appealed to for the purpose of showing that Russia was prepared to stir up, or had actually attempted to stir up, rebellion in India:—

"I tell you the truth that our Government is wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove. There are many things which you cannot understand, but our Government understands them well. It often happens that a thing which is unpleasant at first is regarded as a blessing afterwards. Now, my kind friend, I inform you that

the enemy of your famous religion wants to make peace with you through the Kaiser (Sultan) of Turkey. Therefore, you should look to your brothers who live on the other side of the river. If God stirs them up, and gives the sword of fight into their hands, then go on in the name of God Bismilla; otherwise you should be as a serpent; make peace openly, and in secret prepare for war; and when God reveals His order to you, declare yourself. It will be well when the envoy of your enemy wants to enter the country, if you send an able emissary, possessing the tongue of a serpent and full of deceit, to the enemy's country, so that he may, with sweet words, perplex the enemy's mind, and induce him to give up the intention of fighting with you."

It has been shown, however, on grounds which appear beyond question, that the "river" referred to in this passage is the Oxus, not the Indus, and consequently that by the "Brothers on the other side of the water," the Russians, not the Musalmans of India, are intended. The meaning of the advice given appears in short to have been that the Amir should wait upon the development of Russian policy, and if war between that Power and England broke out, should take up arms, but otherwise make peace openly, while preparing war in secret.

The object of Russia throughout the negotiations was evidently to secure Sher Ali as an instrument against England in India to be employed in case of war with that Power, while she never contemplated Sher Ali using her in the same way to further his own independent aims. But to accomplish this object, it was necessary to offer the Amir an offensive and defensive alliance; and Russia was base enough to do this without any intention whatever of fulfilling the obligations imposed on her by the act unless her own special interests required it.

The following is the draft of the famous treaty as reproduced from memory by a Kabul Munshi :—

Treaty between the Russian Government and Amir Shere Ali Khan, written from memory in Cabul by one of the Amir's officials.

1. The Russian Government engages that the friendship of the Russian Government with the Government of Amir Shere Ali Khan, Amir of all Afghanistan, will be a permanent and perpetual one.

2. The Russian Government engages that, as Sirdar Abdulla Jan, son of the Amir, is dead, the friendship of the Russian Government with any person whom the Amir may appoint heir-apparent to the throne of Afghanistan, and with the heir of the heir-apparent, will remain firm and perpetual.

3. The Russian Government engages that if any foreign enemy

attacks Afghanistan, and the Amir is unable to drive him out, and asks the assistance of the Russian Government, the Russian Government will repel the enemy, either by means of advice or such other means as it may consider proper.

4. The Amir of Afghanistan will not wage war with any foreign power without consulting the Russian Government, and without its permission.

5. The Amir of Afghanistan engages that he will always report in a friendly manner to the Russian Government what goes on in his kingdom.

6. The Amir of Afghanistan will communicate every wish and important affair of his to General Kaufmann, Governor-General of Turkistan, and the Governor-General will be authorized by the Russian Government to fulfil the wishes of the Amir.

7. The Russian Government engages that the Afghan merchants who may trade and sojourn in Russian territory will be safe from wrong, and that they will be allowed to carry away their profits.

8. The Amir of Afghanistan will have the power to send his servants to Russia to learn arts and trades, and the Russian officers will treat them with consideration and respect as men of rank.

9. (Does not remember.)

10. I, Major-General Skobeleff Nicholas, being a trusted Agent of the Russian Government, have made the abovementioned Articles between the Russian Government and the Government of Amir Shere Ali Khan, and have put my seal to them.

[No. 2.]

Treaty between the Russian Government and Amir Shere Ali Khan, written from memory in Cabul by one of the Amir's officials.

1. Friendship has from old time existed between our Government and the Afghan Government, and now it is renewed.

2. The friendship of both Governments with the heir-apparent, whoever he may be, and with the heir of the heir-apparent, will remain firm.

3. Everything will be reported by the Amir to the Yarin Badshah, i.e., the (Russian) Governor (General of Turkistan.)

4. The Russian Government will, through the Governor (General of Turkistan), assist the Amir with troops, if ever he is attacked by a foreign power.

5. The Amir should affirm his power in the country. The Russian Government will, of course, call to account any members of his family, or other person, who may intrigue or rise against him.

6. As friendship exists between the two Governments, it is proper that our merchants should go to Afghanistan for the benefit of both parties.

7. The ancient country of Afghanistan will be returned to the Amir, when, by the help of God, existing difficulties are overcome by the aid of troops.

The significance of the negotiations lies in the proof they afford that, any engagement to the contrary notwithstanding, Russia has not scrupled, and, therefore, presumably will not scruple in the future, in case of a misunderstanding with England, to use Afghanistan as a weapon of offence against her; and that in the autumn of 1880, when the Russian advanced posts were much further from Herat than they are at present, Russia considered her basis of operations sufficiently near to justify her entering into an understanding with the Amir of Kabul, which implied the possibility of giving her actual military support.

The abandonment of Kandahar, the Ministry tell us, is based neither on implicit confidence in Russian promises, nor in reliance upon the Afghans, but on the hope that by convincing the Afghans of our sincerity, it will conciliate them to our side. There can be little doubt, however, that the abandonment has been really dictated by dread of the financial responsibilities which occupation would entail.

In his despatch above quoted, the Marquis of Hartington, it will have been seen, recognises the desirability of some arrangement for the future government of Kandahar being made previously to the withdrawal of the troops, if this object can be effected in a reasonable period. No progress towards this end appears, however, to have been made up to date, though Ayub Khan, whose position is understood to be a most precarious one, is stated to have despatched emissaries to Kandahar for the purpose of ascertaining whether the British Government will entertain overtures from him, and, to prepare the way for a conciliation, he has taken the opportunity of disavowing all responsibility for the murder of Lieutenant Maclean in his camp at Kandahar.

In the meantime the Amir, Abdul Rahman, has also sent an envoy to the Viceroy, probably with the view of settling the terms of a definitive treaty and, possibly, also of arriving at some understanding regarding the future of Kandahar.

While on the side of the British retreat is thus the order of the day, the Russians continue to advance; and on the 24th January the force under General Skobelev succeeded, after a most sanguinary struggle, in capturing Geok Tepe, and have since also occupied Askabad. In the neighbourhood of Kandahar comparative quiet has prevailed, and on the 22nd January a small force was

sent out under General Wilkinson to Maiwand, ostensibly with the object of obtaining supplies, and returned on the 11th February without experiencing any molestation.

As a sequel to the Maiwand disaster we have had a Court Martial on Major Currie, the officer who commanded the 3rd Bengal Cavalry. The charges against him were behaviour before the enemy in such a manner as to show cowardice during the action and retreat at Maiwand, and having, when ordered by General Nuttall to charge the enemy so as to relieve the infantry, then hard pressed, failed to deliver the charge directly to his front upon the mass of the enemy, but charged to the right rear falling merely on small band of men, so that the charge was of no effect ; also having, when ordered by General Burrows to charge across the front and save the infantry from total defeat, made no effort to comply ; also having when the Cavalry was ordered to return to succour the rear guard, remained with a troop required for other duty instead of facing the enemy. With conduct to the prejudice of good order and discipline in failing to exert himself by a display of soldierlike spirit to rouse the men to a sense of duty ; and, in having, when ordered to detach a troop to succour the rear guard, detailed Lieutenant Geoghehan for the duty instead of going himself to the post of honor nearest the enemy. Major Currie's defence was that when the charge was ordered, there were masses of the enemy in all directions. No distinct orders were given, but he charged in the direction indicated, and cleared off and cut up the mass of the enemy that was pressing closely on the infantry. He asserted that this charge saved numbers of Grenadiers from destruction. The battle was lost, the infantry and artillery were in full retreat, and it was not in the power of a handful of men to retrieve the fortunes of the day. He, with reference to the second instance, never received the order to charge from General Burrows. As to the third instance, he said that, when the two remaining troops of his regiment were ordered in different directions, he had no regiment to command, and it was a matter of discretion which portion he should accompany. As he could see no fighting was going on with the rear guard, he elected to ride with Captain Mayne's troop, he being wounded, and was in a post of honour, and where danger called him. Captain Mayne in his evidence declared emphatically that Major Currie was close to him during the three hours whilst they were under heavy fire with Blackwood's guns, and he was perfectly cool, and collected. Colonel Anderson, 1st Grenadiers, and Lieutenant Reid, of the 3rd Cavalry, stated that Major Currie's charge saved a number of Grenadiers from the Ghazis harassing the rear. The court did not hear all the evidence for the defence, and found Major Currie not guilty.

The Court Martial on Colonel Malcolmson is postponed, pending the arrival of necessary witnesses from England ; and a belief prevails in some quarters that it will not be proceeded with.

On the 17th February a simultaneous census was held of the whole of British India. The operations connected therewith were carried out without disturbance, but not without giving rise to much excitement and the usual malignant rumours as to the object of the measure. Bombay is so far the only place for which the results have been tabulated, and there they show a considerable increase of population, as compared with 1874.

In the postscript printed above mention is made of the state of excitement prevailing among the Sonthals, and of the attitude of resistance assumed by a party of these people at Jamtara, near the Railway line, and about ten miles north of the Barakar station. It was apprehended that the *Bandhna* festival would be the occasion of a general rising, and reinforcements of police and even regular troops were sent into the district to prevent it. These precautionary measures had the desired effect, and in a few weeks complete quiet was restored.

The agitation among the Sonthals is believed to have had its origin in Kherwarism. The Kherwars repudiate the right of Government to exercise dominion over, or levy taxes from, them. A few years ago a Sonthal of the name of Bhagirath, a manji or village headman, made pretensions to a divine commission and proclaimed himself the appointed deliverer of the tribe from subjection to the Government. He had no difficulty in commanding credence ; a sacred shrine was erected in his honour, and by his orders, sacrifices of white fowls and goats, symbolising the white man, were held all over the country. Bhagirath was in the course of time arrested by the authorities ; but his adherents circulated a report that he had gone to confront the Commissioner. Later on it was given out that he was dead, but would re-appear, when all that he had foretold and promised would be fulfilled. Meanwhile, one Dubhai was put forward as his temporary successor. This Dubhai is now known as Babaji. It appears to have been this individual who so adroitly seized upon the census as an opportunity for poisoning the minds of the people. But whatever may have been the origin of the rumour set on foot in connexion with the census, it was implicitly believed in. This rumour was to the effect that every man enumerated would be marked or tattooed on the forehead, while the women would be similarly marked in a manner so monstrous as to preclude description. Such rumours and others still worse excited the Sonthals to the pitch of frenzy, and they resolved to offer the most determined resistance to the census. This spirit of opposition first took overt form at Jamtara.

The enumerators, if not police-men themselves, appear to have been accompanied by policemen. They were carrying out the preliminary enumeration. Visiting a village they demanded the appearance and names of the women. This led to an altercation, as might have been expected, and the enumerators and the police were made to beat a retreat. Some half a dozen men appear to have been singled out as ringleaders of the resistance offered on this occasion. The recusant villagers were brought up to the Magistrate's Court, whether on summons or under arrest, is not very clear. It was late in the afternoon or evening, and the case could not be entered into, and so the prisoners were ordered to be kept in the lock-up till the morning, when the investigation would be made. That very night the villagers set fire to the Magistrate's and, as far as appears, rescued their imprisoned friends. This was the first overt act in this Sonthal affair. Fortunately the local Government had some experience of the tempers of the people, and without hesitation or delay had recourse to the most energetic precautionary measures against another possible Sonthal insurrection.

By this time the Sonthals seemed to have lost sight for the moment of the political phase of the agitation. The excitement now converged on one point, and that was to obstruct the census operations, in the firm belief that enumeration would certainly be followed by dishonour to their women. At the eleventh hour, Government wisely yielded to a sense of expediency, and abandoned the purpose of a synchronous census in the Sonthal Pergunnahs. Perhaps the concession would have been more useful had it come somewhat earlier, for Sonthal demagogues may in the future be found making capital out of it. It was not, however, from any apprehension of disturbances that the synchronous operation was countermanded, but because it was certain that if it were pressed, on census night or morning, the Sonthals would all betake themselves into the depths of the jungle.

Although the presence of the military and a strong police force had an undoubtedly good effect in preventing anything like combination for an outbreak, yet the excitement on account of the census wholly subsided only on the final termination of the census operations. Nor was it confined to a few particular localities or villages; it was widespread and general throughout Sonthalia. Everywhere men and women watched with fear and trembling the approach of the enumerators, determined to offer them all the obstruction in their power. The little that took place in the way of disturbance, and the few overt acts that were committed, were one and all traceable to the census scare which had taken firm hold of the simple minds of the poor credulous Sonthals. In many places they defiantly refused to be

enumerated to the very face of the superior European officers. Hurried on by their excited feelings, large gatherings were here and there held for the purpose of concerting plans of resistance, but, except in a very few instances, the outcome of these councils of war turned out very ridiculous, for the mere sight of a few sepoys or troopers always sufficed to quench the ardour of the would-be belligerents. Without attempting to refer in detail to the many seditious meetings and the incendiary bluster retailed at such gatherings, it will be sufficient to allude to almost the only two real disturbances that took place after the Jamtara occurrence which has already been mentioned. One of these happened at Deogoria or Deogur. The people of the place defiantly refusing to submit to be enumerated, the European officer present, with a view to making an example, ordered the arrest of the ringleaders. On this a mob of some hundred Sonthals sat themselves down suddenly, declaring that they would not leave unless their friends were delivered up to them. The Magistrate had the prisoners removed to his tent, and from thence under a small police escort sent them away to a place where a party of military was encamped. Perceiving this, the crowd moved forward in the same direction. The Magistrate on this rode up to the policemen who had charge of the prisoners and hurried on to reach the camp. On his getting there, the mob still followed, and, as before, sat themselves down before the camping ground. They were ordered to disperse, but positively refused to do so. Upon this a file of men turned out. They were ordered to load, but no sooner had they presented their pieces, then the Sonthal mob took to their heels. The Katikoond disturbance was of a more serious character. Here too it commenced with obstinate obstruction to the census. Some of the ringleaders were arrested and sentenced by the Deputy Magistrate to imprisonment and fine. But the infuriated mob, numbering over a thousand, by their violence compelled that functionary to release the prisoners, refund the fines, and even cancel the order for taking the census. Having driven the Deputy Magistrate out of the field, they made a night of it in the neighbouring jungle, and arranged a plan to be carried out the following day for plundering the Government treasury and doing a great many more things in the way of *loot*. But a party of military coming up put an effectual check to their brave purposes.

About a hundred of the ringleaders have been arrested, most of whom have been brought to trial and convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, varying from one to six years, in addition to different amounts of fine.

Notwithstanding the obstruction met with universally in the

Sonthal Pergunnahs in taking the census, the synchronous enumeration on census morning in the adjoining district of Beerbhoom, in which there is a very large population of Southals, was effected without difficulty or trouble, owing to the exertions and tact of the Collector of the district. The timely display of similar tact and energy in other places, it may be presumed, might have secured the same happy results as in Beerbhoom.

One other fact may be noted, namely, that the Sonthal Christian converts observed a calm neutrality amid the general excitement of their tribe. This may be taken as a further proof that, if pains had been taken to enlighten the benighted mind of the Sonthal as to the objects and reasons of the census, much sensation and waste of public money would have been avoided.

During the quarter the Bengal Government has issued a new set of rules for the recruitment and control of emigrant labour for the tea districts of Assam, Cachar and Sylhet, based on the recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider the question. The effect of the rules, which it is believed, will give satisfaction to the planters, is to encourage recruiting by garden sarkars, by freeing the operations of recruiters of this class from many vexatious restrictions; to extend the maximum term of contracts for labour to five years; and generally to place the relations between employers and labourers on an improved footing. Great stress is also laid on the importance of improving communications with the tea districts.

Sir Steuart Bayley, the late Chief Commissioner of Assam, having been appointed to the post of Resident at Haidarabad, Mr. C. A. Elliot from the North-West Provinces has taken his place.

The question of the retention of the Naga Hills territory has been decided by the Government of India in the affirmative, but that of a site for the Head-Quarters station still remains in abeyance.

The Viceroy, whose health is understood to have been completely re-established, will leave for Simla on the 15th instant, on or about which date it is expected that the Annual Budget Statement will be published.

The 13th March 1881.



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language, translated and compiled from the Works of the most approved native or naturalised Authorities. By Mortimer Sloper Howell, Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service, Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and Fellow of the University of Calcutta. Published under the Authority of the Government, North-West Provinces. In an Introduction and four Parts. Part II. The Verb, and Part III. The Particle. Allahabad. Printed at the North-West Provinces Government Press, 1880.

THE research of which Mr. Howell's work is the outcome must command the admiration of all who examine it; and it will be generally felt that the task, if it was to be performed at all, could not have been entrusted to more competent hands. At the same time the doubt forces itself upon us whether, after all, the compilation of a grammar on the principle adopted in it is not an anachronism. It looks, in fact, almost like an undoing of the work of those modern grammarians who have applied to the materials embodied in it, or other similar materials, that synthetic method which has elevated grammar into a science, and, whatever its disadvantages, done so much to smooth the path of the student.

The method adopted in Mr. Howell's work is the analytic. It presents us, so to speak, with the threads out of which grammar in the modern European sense is woven. The method is not without its advantages, the chief among them being, perhaps, the wealth of examples with which it presents the student.

Here we have reproduced not only the dicta of the chief native authorities, but their *ipsissima verba* and the texts on which their conclusions were based. Conflict of opinion not being eliminated, the work is essentially argumentative and the student is left to choose between opposing authorities. It follows that it is scarcely a work for a beginner, who wants everything authoritatively laid down by some supreme

arbiter. Its study with profit, in short, presupposes a large amount of critical judgment on the part of the student, and this he cannot possess without considerable previous knowledge of the subject-matter.

The vast number of abbreviations used by the author will, we fear, prove a serious drawback to the use of the work. For, before he can consult it with any degree of comfort, the reader must devote many days, if not weeks, to the study of these abbreviations, and even then he will need a very good memory to keep them all in mind.

The following paragraph, selected at random, will sufficiently illustrate our meaning:—

THE QUADRILITERAL VERB.

§ 495. The unaugmented *quad.* has one (M, SH, L, IA) measure (L, IA) [or] formation (M, SH) for the *act.* voice (IA) فعل (M, L), with Fath of the 1st and 3rd (L), *trans.* (M), like [الحجر] (M) دحرج (M, IA) rolled the stone down, and *intrans.*, like دربخ lowered his head (M); one for the *pass.*, like دحرج; and one for the *imp.*, like دحرج. The augmented, *quad.* becomes, through the augment, of five letters, like تدحرج, or six, like اخرج [and اقشعر] (IA). The augmented [*quad.*] has (M, SH, L) two (M), [or rather] three (SH), formations (M, L), (1) تفعل (L), as تدحرج [495. A.] (SH, L); (2) افعل, as اخرج (M, SH, L), e. g. فاحرنجمت النعم خرجمت I crowded the camels together, and they crowded together, ابرنشق الرجل was joyful, اخرنظم was haughty (L); (3) افعل, as اقشعر shuddered (M, SH), اشعل hastened (L); (3) اسبطر became long, اسعد became swollen (L): which are *intrans.* (SH).

To have given the names of all the authorities in full would, no doubt, have rendered the work much bulkier, but we nevertheless suspect that a good deal of time would thus have been saved, and certainly the work would have been made much less repulsive.

Index Geographicus Indicus, being a List, alphabetically arranged, of the principal Places in Her Imperial Majesty's Indian Empire, with Notes and Statements, Statistical, Political, and Descriptive, of the several Provinces and Administrations of the Empire, the Native States, Independent and Feudatory, attached to, and in political Relationship with, each; and other Information relating to India and the East, with Maps. Names spelt in accordance with recent authorised Orthography. By Frederick Baness, F. R. G. S., F. S. Sc. (Lond.) Survey of India. Surveyor and Chief Draftsman, Geographical and Drawing Branch. Calcutta: W. Newman & Co., 3, Dalhousie Square. London: Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. 1881.

IN his *Index Geographicus Indicus* Mr. Baness has produced one of the most complete works of its kind that we have seen. As a compendium of Indian geography and statistics it stands without a rival, and these words must be taken in their widest sense to convey a correct idea of the information it contains. It is a guide at once to the geography, topographical, physical and political; the statistics, vital and economic; the ethnology, and even the climatology, of the empire; and all this varied information is thrown into such a form that the enquirer can find what he is in search of with the least possible expenditure of time and labour. Whether as a companion to such voluminous works as those of Dr. Hunter, or as a substitute for them, it will prove equally valuable, and no Indian office or study should be without it.

The brief general descriptions by which the tables are accompanied, constitute monographs of the subjects with which they deal, and contain an amount of information out of all proportion to the space they occupy.

Writers who desire to adapt their spelling of Indian names to the scientific system will find the alphabetical index at the end invaluable as a guide for the purpose.

The accuracy of the work, as far as we have been able to test it, is beyond praise, and the typography is beautifully neat and clear.

The Golden Treasury of the best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language, selected and arranged with Notes, by Francis Turner Palgrave, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Book Fourth. Edited with additional Notes by Peter Peterson, M. A., Ed. Dip. Bombay. Bombay, 1880 (with the permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Co.)

IN publishing this annotated edition of what is perhaps the best existing collection of English lyric poetry, Mr. Peterson

has at once supplied a great educational need and opened up to Indian students a new and fertile source of pleasure. Though there are poets who embody the thoughts that make all the ages kin, each succeeding age, by virtue of those laws of development which govern all mental products, has its own special inspirations and its own appropriate diction, and experience has abundantly shown that a too exclusive application on the part of Native scholars to the works of Milton and Shakespeare leads to results which are at the best one-sided and at the worst grotesque. Lyric poetry, moreover, is that which from its nature partakes most intimately of the spirit of the age that gives it birth; and hitherto the lyric poetry of England has been very much of a hidden book to the native of India. So far as this has been due to want of encouragement, Mr. Peterson's success in obtaining official recognition for the fourth volume of the *Golden Treasury* as a text book will go a long way towards remedying the defect, while his admirable notes should do as much to remove the obstacle, so far as it is due to special difficulties of interpretation.

Of the selection itself, it would be impossible to speak in too high praise. Though it does not include the works of living writers, it includes most of the best pieces of our modern lyrical writers not living, and nothing which is not excellent and in keeping with the feelings of the day. That everything it contains will be at once understood of native students would perhaps be too much to expect. But Mr. Peterson has left nothing undone to facilitate the work of interpretation.

The Future of the Muhammadans of Bengal. By Saeed. 1258, Solar Hijreh. Printed and published at the *Urdoo Guide Press*; Calcutta, 1880.

SAEED'S little tractate on the position and prospects of the Musalmans of Bengal is distinguished by a candour, a moderation and a breadth of view which were certain to obtain attention for his opinion; and, if we are not mistaken, they have been very fully considered by the Local Government.

His object is to investigate the causes of the social decay which has overtaken his co-religionists in the Lower Provinces, and to show how it may most effectually be arrested, and the community enabled to recover its lost position.

The causes of the decline pointed out by him are various. The substitution of English for Persian as the Court language combined with the aversion shown by the Muhammadans for English education, have placed them at a serious disadvantage in the race for

Government employment, and there has been a gradual falling off in the number of officers they supply to the Courts and of practitioners they furnish to the legal profession. This aversion to English education, "Saeed" points out, is traceable to pride of race not felt by the Hindus, to their possession of a rich literature of their own, to their greater religious bigotry and partly to their poverty. The influence of these causes has, however, he thinks, declined, and "the Moslems of Bengal are now probably as willing to profit by a study of the English language and literature as their brethren, the Hindus." While holding that the Muhammadans possess a claim to some indulgence at the hands of the State, he deprecates, as calculated to prove injurious, a free education for them, or even a less expensive education than that provided for Hindus. What he asks for is the removal of certain special obstacles. One of the causes assigned for the failure of Muhammadans to avail themselves of the benefits of Government education is poverty. This poverty "Saeed" traces to expensive habits, the contempt in which thrift is held by Muhammadan moralists, and the Muhammadan laws of succession. As a means of mitigating it, he advocates the extension to Muhammadans of the testamentary provisions of Act X. of 1865, and the enactment of a vagrancy law in order to compel able-bodied mendicants to work and prevent them from living on the fruits of other people's labour.

In order to put Muhammadans on a more equal footing with Hindus, in the matter of education, he advocates a re-arrangement of the existing scheme. Provision should be made for the teaching of Arabic, Persian and Hindustani, which are at present entirely neglected in the schools of the Mufasal. On grounds of economy, however, it would be impossible to attach a staff of Mulvies or Munshis to the schools in the interior; and "Saeed" therefore advocates the establishment of a college and three exclusively Muhammadan High Schools by the amalgamation of the existing Madrasahs. In these schools he would have the boarding system established.

He says:—

The amalgamated College formed from the Hugley and Calcutta Madrasah funds should be located in Calcutta. The principal should of course be a European scholar of undoubted talents; but in managing the Boarding Department and looking after the Boarders he must be assisted by a Mohammadan gentleman of approved principles—with habits of energy and perseverance—and possessing a strong mind and resolute character. A School might be retained with advantage at Hugley and Calcutta. The Madrasah Branch School should be removed to a place beyond the local limits of the town so as to be more convenient to the many Mohammadans who reside in the south-eastern suburbs.

The following passages appear to contain the details of his scheme:—

But this will be insufficient for the large Mohammadan population of Bengal. Schools supported by Mohammadan funds whether aided or unaided should all be devoted to the exclusive benefit of Mohammadans instead of being, as they now practically are, devoted to the almost exclusive benefit of Hindoos. I mean those like the Nizamut School of Moorsheda-bad and the Qhwaja School of Dhaka.

The Calcutta Madrasah should be raised to a College, the Nizamut School and the Navvab Abdul Ganee School should be made high schools and turned to the exclusive education of Mohammadans. The Mohseniyeh Madrasahs should be abolished. The instruction that they give is utterly unsuited to the times and it is a mere waste of means to supply people with what has no present value and will be of no future use. From the funds of these Mohseniyeh Madrasahs a high school should be established at Hugley and scholarships of various amounts should be given to students who successfully pass the several examinations of the University from Mohammadan institutions. But what is much more important is that part of the funds should be applied to enable selected students to proceed to England and to study there for the Civil Service, the Bar, the Public Works, and the other higher professions open to the natives of India.

In deference to the prejudices of our community, classes for the study of law in the Arabic language might be retained in Calcutta and in the high schools. The study of the Arabic and the Persian languages should be provided for in all of them for those who intend to go up to the higher examinations of the University—that is, for those who intend to pursue their English studies beyond the entrance examination. Students who are not desirous of reading English will join these especial classes. For though the knowledge of Arabic jurisprudence in the Arabic language is of no use as a profession to a resident of Bengal, there must be some men amongst us capable of interpreting the Qor-an and the Hadeeses—capable of understanding books written in Mohammadan countries in the Arabic language—capable of comprehending works published in Eiran, Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, Tunis. There must be some men amongst us capable of teaching Mohammadan doctrines and Mohammadan practices to the mass of the Indian Mosalmans—there must be some men amongst us especially devoted to Religion. These men must possess an extensive knowledge of the Arabic language, literature, and law so as to be able to impress on the mass of the people the truths of the Mohammadan Religion.

Those who study English do so from motives of worldly success. Their knowledge of the Arabic would thus be just sufficient to make them pass their examinations—and their pursuit of worldly advancement will leave them no inclination for piety, no taste for religious devotion. On the other hand those who study Arabic only—doing so from religious motives—would have a much better knowledge of the language and will thus be better capable of inculcating the tenets of the Mohammadan Faith. Mohammadan jurisprudence must therefore be taught in the Arabic language as a course of study for Arabic scholars.

The College and the high schools alone will not be sufficient for our wants. The present Madrasah Branch School in Calcutta should be raised to a higher standard and located in the southern suburbs and a new one should be established in the northern suburbs of Calcutta. All schools supported by Mohammadan funds (whether aided by the State or not) should be devoted solely to the English education of Mohammadans. It is doubtful whether

the duty of a Government extends to the education of the people. In India the Government has indeed taken upon itself the task of educating the people; but a Government can never do much in this matter. In education, as well as in all other kinds of progress, much, if not everything, depends on the people themselves.

At all those centres of Mohammadan population where reside many Mohammadan gentlemen, should be established English schools—such for instance, as Medneepoor, Burdwan, Rajshahee, Rangpoor, Maimansingh, Silhet, Komilla, Chittagong. To achieve this end those Mohammadan gentlemen who desire founding benevolent institutions should leave their donations to the support of schools for the benefit of their own society. Something, however, may even now and at once be done to the furtherance of our education.

Persian should, he thinks, be added to the list of languages for which honours are given. At the same time, he strongly urges on Muhammadans the necessity of ceasing to neglect the Bengali language. He says:—

“The Hindu dialect is becoming the literary language of Bengal, and the Hindus are becoming the exclusive leaders of the indigenous literature of the Province. Whatever we may feel, think, or do, the Bengali will be our vernacular—this is now a physical certainty. It behoves us, then, to turn our attention at once to that language and to try to introduce into its structure the peculiarities of our diction and the peculiarities of our character.

“The refusal or inability of the higher Mosalmans to adopt the Bengali has greatly affected the relation between them and the lower Mosalmans. We do not learn the Bengali—whilst our lower orders cannot learn the Persian, cannot learn even the Hindustani. There are thus no means of fellow-feeling or of acting together. The knowledge we possess does not reach down to our lower neighbours—our character, ideas, and habits of thought do not affect them. This is the reason that our lower orders are moved and led *en masse* by men sprung from themselves—men like Titu Mia of Baraset and Dudu Miyan of Farridpur.”

As the Government system of education benefits chiefly Hindus, wealthy Muhammadans, he urges, should make their donations and endowments solely educational and solely in favour of their co-religionists.

“Saeed” enters into an interesting disquisition on the effect which intermarriage of immigrant Muhammadans with the converts of Eastern Bengal has had in degrading the former physically, intellectually and morally. Owing to the cessation of immigration under English rule, he points out there is no longer anything to counteract this depressing influence, which threatens to bring down the immigrant families “to the level of our julahas or weavers, darzis or tailors, quasaihs or butchers, and kunjras or sellers of garden produce.”

This state of things must, he says, be immediately confronted, but he does not point out the remedy very clearly.
